

Plotlines of Victimhood

The Holocaust in German and Dutch history textbooks, 1960-2010

**Verhalen van slachtofferschap
De Holocaust in Duitse en Nederlandse geschiedenis­schoolboeken, 1960-2010**

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Marcus Leonardus Franciscus van Berkel
born in Tilburg

Erasmus University Rotterdam

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Doctoral Committee:

Promotors: Prof.dr. M.C.R. Grever
Prof.dr. C.R. Ribbens

Other members: Prof.dr. B. Wubs
Prof.dr. H.C. Dibbits
Prof.dr. J. Pekelder

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Preface

In 1965, the public announcement of the proposed marriage of the Dutch crown princess Beatrix with the German diplomat Claus von Amsberg, a former member of the *Hitlerjugend* and *Wehrmacht*, caused much uproar in the Netherlands. It was only after thorough investigation of Von Amsberg's past ('he hadn't fired a single shot') by Dr. Loe de Jong of the State Institute for War Documentation (RIOD) and through intervention of Queen Juliana, that the general public, and Dutch parliament, reluctantly accepted the marriage proposal.¹ In 1993, almost thirty years later, the Dutch Institute for International affairs 'Clingendael' published the results of a survey among eighteen hundred Dutch youngsters between fifteen and nineteen years about their opinion of Germany and Germans.² From this survey it showed that fifty-six percent of the youngsters had negative feelings towards the Germans, who were considered to be 'arrogant' and 'dominant'.

Almost half of the respondents still saw Germany as a belligerent country wanting to dominate the world. The Clingendael study not only showed negative attitudes towards Germany, but also brought to light how little students knew about Germany and the Germans. Although some doubted whether the outcome of the survey was truly representative,³ the results led to serious concern in the Netherlands, particularly because of possible economic and political consequences. The Dutch government reacted quickly and invested six million guilders in a multiannual program to increase knowledge and improve the perception of modern Germany among Dutch youngsters.⁴ Remarkably enough, Dutch *adults* seemed to embrace a much more positive image of Germany.⁵ Later surveys from 1994 and 1995 indeed showed that the views had somewhat changed: almost fifty percent now indicated that Germany was the Netherlands' closest ally and that there was little doubt about its democratic stability.⁶

Although the general image of Germany and the Germans has improved slightly since the 1990s, the negative and stereotypical images among Dutch youngsters seemed to be far more perseverant compared to the more positive attitude of Dutch adults.⁷ The question arises where these negative sentiments among the young came from. The 1993 Clingendael research showed that no less than sixty-one percent of the interviewed youngsters indicated that their knowledge of Germany derived from history education

¹ Righart, *De eindeloze jaren zestig*, 212-216. See for more Boterman, *Duitsland als Nederlands probleem*; Müller, *Sporen naar Duitsland*, Hess and Wielenga, *Duitsland in de Nederlandse pers*.

² Jansen, *Bekend en onbemand*.

³ Some highlighted that the moment when the survey was held was an auspicious one: during the early 1990's right wing extremism in Germany caused five deaths in Solingen, where a Turkish family residence was set on fire. Dutch producers of a radio program called to protest. Its listeners were asked to send pre-printed postcards with the text "I'm furious" to the German government. Eventually, more than a million postcards were delivered in Bonn. (Timmermans, *Buurland in beeld*, 5).

⁴ Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal, 'Aanhangsel van de handelingen, vergaderjaar 1997-1998', available at: <http://parlis.nl/pdf/kamervragen/KVR6043.pdf> (last consulted 17-8-16).

⁵ See Dekker and Olde Dubbelink, *Duitslandbeeld 1995*.

⁶ *Rapport Belevingsonderzoek Duits 2010*, 9-10. In 2006, 80% of (eight hundred) readers of the magazine *Intermediair* claimed to think of Germany as 'reasonably or very sympathetic, tolerant and peaceful', see: *Rapport Belevingsonderzoek Duits 2010* (uitgave Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam 2010), 9-10 (<http://www.duitslandinstituut.nl/art/uploads/files/2011/Rapport%20belevingsonderzoek.pdf>).

⁷ See for more Bendieck and Stehr, 'Alles Wurst, alles Käse?', 3-10; Paul, 'Duitsers zijn tegenwoordig prima of gewoon', Wiedemann, 'Frau Antje in den Wechseljahren', (<http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13685150.html>) (last consulted 17-8-16).

and history textbooks.⁸ Later surveys from 1994 and 1995 indeed showed that the views had somewhat changed: almost fifty percent now indicated that Germany was the Netherlands' closest ally and that there was little doubt about its democratic stability.⁹

I became intrigued by the possible connection between such a negative attitude and the content and guided imagery of history textbooks. This prompted me to develop a specific interest in the potential impact and authority that history textbooks can attain. One of the first occasions on which I encountered the potential force of education, was in the early 1990s when I worked as a young teacher in Rostock, in former East Germany. One of my students refused to accept my (and my textbook's) 'western' version of the 1939 Soviet-Russian 'Molotow-Ribbentrop-pact', claiming that 'Stalin would never have approved of a treaty' with his ideological adversary. Having worked for more than twenty years in secondary and higher education, I have often wondered why the textbooks I used as a history teacher were composed as they were. Sometimes they had left out what I believed to be essential information on a certain topic, sometimes they conveyed knowledge I couldn't find meaningful for young people, sometimes there were serious errors. What I found in all educational systems I enjoyed working in, however, is that most students consider the content of their textbooks as absolutely true and trustworthy. For some teachers at the beginning of their careers, this may also be the case. History textbooks can influence the collective circulation of certain perceptions, as the aforementioned negative images about Germany and the Germans. Textbooks, in other words, involve 'the collective level of historical consciousness within a country.'¹⁰

When I was given the opportunity to critically pursue my inquisitiveness on these issues in a PhD research project, I soon encountered Prof. Maria Grever from the Center for Historical Culture of the Erasmus University Rotterdam. I am greatly indebted to her for the critical involvement she has shown towards my research. My 'absence' from the field of research for a long time has made a huge appeal on the quality of her advice and comments, as well as on her patience. Thanks to Maria's constructive perseverance and motivational guidance I would not have completed this study. Secondly, I would like to thank Prof. Kees Ribbens for his sharp and adequate comments on my work. His invaluable expertise has saved me several times from being inadequate or inconsistent. His enthusiastic approach of the subject of this study has helped me at times to continue firmly with this project. I am very grateful for their support in bridging the gap from education to academic research, which I would not have overcome without them. It has been an absolute pleasure to work with them.

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⁸ Jansen, *Bekend en onbemind*, 33.

⁹ *Rapport Belevingsonderzoek Duits 2010*, 9-10.

¹⁰ Fröhnert, 'We Want to Learn from the Past', 103.

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1. Introduction

In the Netherlands, after World War Two (WWII), the general image of Germany and the Germans has long been stereotypical and negative.¹¹ Recollections of the horrors of the war, as well as postwar experiences with (West) German politics and society, such as the government response to RAF terrorism during the 1970s or the attacks on refugee centers in the 1990s, seemed to confirm the image of the Germans as being violent, authoritarian and evidently undemocratic.

It is assumed that history education and textbooks have played an important role in the emergence of the above mentioned stereotypical perceptions. It is, therefore, important to closely examine textbook representations of contested topics such as WWII or the Holocaust. History textbooks potentially reveal how societies and countries see or want to see themselves, resulting often in the marginalization or suppression of the so-called 'darker pages' of their past. Colonial violence in Dutch history or National Socialist rule in Germany and European antisemitism leading up to the Holocaust are well-known examples of this in contemporary history. There have been serious doubts about the quality of history textbooks, both in the Netherlands and (West) Germany, particularly when dealing with 'dark pages'.¹² In relation to the Nazi past, (West) German textbooks for instance have often been criticized for their alleged repression or projection of guilt, minimization of the crimes committed, apologetic behavior, rationalization of crimes, and sometimes outright sympathy for some aspects of National Socialist ideology, beliefs or measures. The general view is that some renderings in current German history textbooks still cause concerns. The marginalization of some of the victims, the inadequate distancing from the perpetrator's perspective and processes of inclusion and exclusion with regard to Jews and the lack of the historical context of the Holocaust seem questionable.¹³

This is no less true for Dutch history textbooks. In 2001, Beening analyzed 173 Dutch textbooks, the majority of which (132) used for history education in primary and secondary education. He claimed that since 1945, contemporary (post-1870) history of Germany has become the most important topic in Dutch history education. At the time, students sometimes encounter the topic of National Socialism and WWII four or five times during their school careers, from their primary years up to the final examinations in secondary education.¹⁴ By linking fascism directly to (Nazi) Germany, and without discussing democratic developments in postwar Germany, many students in the Netherlands seem to be left with the tendency of identifying Germany with war, totalitarianism or military aggression. They consequently seem to lack insight into the complex and problematic functioning of modern societies, where sometimes people comport themselves without considering the impact of their actions. According to Beening, Dutch history education tends to 'escape into rigid moralistic dichotomies'.¹⁵

¹¹ *Rapport Belevingsonderzoek Duits 2010* (DIA) (http://duitslandinstituut.nl/assets/hippo_binaries/assets/duitslandweb/Actueel/rapport-beleving-def.pdf?v=1) (last consulted 12-11-2016).

¹² See e.g. Kolinsky and Kolinsky, 'The Treatment of the Holocaust in West German Textbooks'; Braham, *The Treatment of the Holocaust in Textbooks*; Pingel, *The European home*; Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks'; Lässig and Pohl, 'History textbooks and historical scholarship'; Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch' and Sandkühler 'Nach Stockholm'.

¹³ Lässig and Pohl, 'History textbooks and historical scholarship', 127-131.

¹⁴ Beening, *Tussen Bewondering en Verguizing*, 108-109.

¹⁵ Idem, 124-125.

If and how history textbooks may have influenced the circulation of such negative images about Germany and the Germans in the Netherlands, we hardly know. The subject of this PhD thesis, however, is not so much to examine the national impact of history textbooks on the collective level of historical consciousness. This study focuses on how (West) German and Dutch history textbooks have dealt with the Holocaust over the course of time. This type of historiographical research belongs to what Raphaël de Keyser has called 'education historiography'.¹⁶ But, as I will show later, my approach is also influenced by narratology: I have examined narrative plotlines on the Holocaust in history textbooks by focusing on victimhood and agency.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will first present my research question. Then I will reflect on main changes in the national historical cultures, more precisely how people have dealt with the past in postwar Europe. I will specifically outline the concepts of 'victim' and 'victimhood' within the context of the aftermath of WWII and the Holocaust. Next, I will elaborate on the theoretical framework of my analysis, as well as on history textbook research in general. Then I will expand on the sources, methods and design of this study.

1.1 Research question

In this study I will analyze how the Holocaust is represented or narrated in history textbooks in the context of the postwar historical cultures in (West) Germany and the Netherlands. Nowadays, in most European countries the Holocaust is seen as an extremely important historical phenomenon. Germans consider the Holocaust as a decisive event in their history, a 'landmark in developing national identity and a persevering continuity in postwar German society'.¹⁷ For many scholars, the term 'Holocaust' is said to be undesirable, because in the original meaning of the word a religious sacrifice by means of incineration was meant, giving Jewish suffering a Christian coating.¹⁸ The Hebrew word 'Shoah' would be more appropriate, because it is Jewish, victim-oriented and non-religious. Furthermore, other victim groups ought to be covered by using the phrase 'Holocaust'. Novick, however, states that the word 'Holocaust' in relation to the assassination of European Jewry originated from Israel. In the 1948 Israeli Declaration of Independence, the English translation of the *Nazi Shoah* was *Nazi Holocaust*. Early Yad Vashem publications used the word 'Holocaust' as well. Through the Eichmann-trial, many journalists became familiar with the Israeli term 'Holocaust'; by the end of the 1960s it had become widespread.

Here the Holocaust is defined – according to present academic consensus – as the 'systematically planned and industrially conducted mass murder of European Jews and other groups, populations and people between June 1941 and May 1945'. Some of the aforementioned victim groups have been discriminated, excluded, persecuted, imprisoned or killed before that date, yet the systematic character of the killing processes began with the arrival of the *Einsatzgruppen* in June 1941.¹⁹ Notwithstanding the difficulties in defining the 'Holocaust', my analysis of the Holocaust in history textbooks will be conducted including the broader historical context of Nazi repression from 1933 onwards. Whether we should refer to the persecutions in Nazi Germany and the occupied countries before

¹⁶ De Keyser, 'Schoolboekhistoriografie', 331.

¹⁷ Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*, 34-37.

¹⁸ Novick, *The Holocaust and Collective Memory*, 133-134.

¹⁹ See for more on this chapter two and Browning, *Ordinary Men*; Friedländer, *The Years of Extermination*; Longerich, *Holocaust* and Snyder, *Bloedlanden*.

1941 as 'the Holocaust' as well is a matter of serious academic debate (see §2.1). For pragmatic reasons, however, and due to the fact that many textbooks describe the Holocaust within the framework or against the background of National Socialism and WWII, I have included this wider temporal scale.

Whereas WWII has obtained an important status in the standard history curricula in Western Europe, the Holocaust seems to have been a persistent predicament within the educational framework. This not only derives from the didactical difficulties or the historical complexity of the phenomenon, but also from the sometimes problematic emotional discussions attached to the topic. Surveys in the United Kingdom, Sweden, Germany and Russia have shown that historical awareness of the Holocaust among young people in these countries is declining and that antisemitism is strong and persevering.²⁰ These views sometimes seem to be related to anti-Israeli sentiments, as in the case of several Dutch youngsters of Turkish descent who caused uproar in March 2013 by claiming on Dutch national television that they 'hated Jews' and believed 'Hitler had done a great job by killing millions of Jews'.²¹ A small-scale Dutch study, published in 2003, reports that children with an Islamic background are often less familiar with the history of WWII and the Holocaust. During history classes on the Holocaust current affairs related to the Middle East are brought up, 'particularly Moroccan Dutch students identify with the current situation of the Palestinian people and regularly express anti-Jewish views under the guise of freedom of expression'.²²

Although the number of studies about teaching and learning about the Holocaust is increasing, comparative research on the Holocaust in *history textbooks* is rather scarce (see for this issue § 1.3). This study seeks to compare Holocaust narratives in history textbooks, published between 1960 and 2010, in North Rhine-Westphalia (one of the constituent states of the Federal Republic of Germany, until 1990 also known as West Germany) and the Netherlands. I will later explain why I selected textbooks from these countries. A comparison between textbooks from both countries offers interesting insights into the ways these countries have dealt with their war history. This research therefore aims at analyzing and describing this development by investigating continuities and discontinuities in Holocaust narratives in German and Dutch textbooks. Hence, in this study 'German' or 'West German' textbooks are textbooks from North Rhine-Westphalia. It is my intention to provide insight into the main narratives of the topic in history textbooks in both countries, including the content of assignments and selected sources. Furthermore, the outcome might support educational institutions (ministries/government officials, school boards, teachers, textbook authors, publishing companies) by enhancing their insights into the changing contents and the emerging standards for modern history textbooks.

The **central research question** is: *Which narrative plotlines of victimhood and agency about the Holocaust are present in German and Dutch history textbooks between 1960 and 2010, and how can possible changes in these plotlines be explained?*

To be able to answer the central question, I have formulated three sub-questions:

1. What are main similarities and differences between German and Dutch history textbooks concerning the presented facts and contextualization of the Holocaust?
2. To what extent are possible changes in narrative plotlines related to academic debates on the Holocaust in German and Dutch history textbook narratives?

²⁰ Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*, 22-24.

²¹ <http://programma.ntr.nl/10567/onbevoegd-gezag/archief/detail/aflevering/6000003897/Mehmet--Sahin-'Kennis-is-macht'> (last consulted 30-12-2015).

²² Blanken et al, *Antisemitisme op school?*, 20-27; Grever, 'Dilemmas of Common and Plural History', 81.

3. To what extent are possible changes in narrative plotlines related to didactical developments in German and Dutch history textbook narratives?

This research basically covers two, sometimes overlapping periods: 1960-1980 and 1980-2010. For both countries a total of 32 textbooks have been chosen; the details of this selection are being explored in detail in the empirical chapters 4 and 5. The periodization reflects developments in historical culture on the Holocaust. Before the 1960s, most history textbooks in both countries hardly contained information on the matter, partly because contemporary history was still a rudimentary part of the history curricula.²³ Furthermore, many teachers seemed to be unable or unwilling to discuss the Holocaust in their classrooms.²⁴ Probably, other (military) aspects of WWII were accentuated. In 2010, the final year of the period researched in this project, National Socialism and the Holocaust had become compulsory items in the curricula for secondary schools in both the Netherlands and North Rhine-Westphalia (see chapter 3). In order to retain a distanced position from current textbooks (published after 2010), I have restricted this analysis to a period of fifty years.

Until 1961 the Dutch and German textbooks I have looked at scarcely discussed or even mentioned what had happened to the Jews during WWII.²⁵ In both West Germany and the Netherlands the Eichmann-trial in Jerusalem (1961-1962) is considered to be a first turning point in postwar remembrance of the Holocaust.²⁶ During and after this trial, many articles were published on the persecution of the Jews, the personality of Eichmann or the insufficient development of denazification in West Germany. The three Auschwitz-trials in Frankfurt during the 1960s also received a lot of media-attention.²⁷ But it was not until the 1980s that public interest really changed: a true eruption of Holocaust-publications, -monuments and -teaching methods flooded the (western) world.²⁸ The 1980s therefore constitute a second turning point with regard to Holocaust narratives in both historical culture and history education, especially through the increased attention for the victims. It seems that the broadcast of the NBC miniseries *Holocaust* in 1978/1979 was an important breakthrough in the Holocaust-awareness of the general public (both in the United States and Western Europe). Hundreds of millions viewers watched the nine and a half hour television program.²⁹ Never before the Holocaust had been discussed as much as during

²³ Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks', 50-51 and Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 50.

²⁴ Pagaard, 'German Schools and the Holocaust', 544.

²⁵ See also Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks', 52-53.

²⁶ See for more on the impact of the Eichmann Trial on Holocaust memory, Cesarani, *After Eichmann*.

²⁷ The three Auschwitz trials took place between 1963 and 1968. Main character behind the scenes of the Frankfurt trials was Hessen's attorney general Fritz Bauer (1903-1969), who persistently worked towards prosecution of former national socialists, most of whom were sentenced only to a few years in prison. The Frankfurt based Fritz Bauer Institute on the history of the National Socialist mass crimes was named after him (<http://www.fritz-bauer-institut.de/>). Bauer's 1960 speech in which he claimed that the Third Reich had not been a historical accident – encouraged state organizations to make the text available for secondary schools. This, however, was rejected by the Ministry of Education of the Rhineland-Palatinate. The renunciation was supported by the young Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl, who stated that 'for an adequate judgment one needed more distancing from the past'. The text, however, was published in 1965. See Taler, *Asche auf vereisten Wegen* (Köln 2003) 139. Bauer's character appeared in the 2014 feature film *Im Labyrinth des Schweigens* ('Labyrinth of Lies'). The film depicts the events leading up to the Frankfurt Trials (<http://www.zeitgeschichte-online.de/film/zur-vaeterlichen-nebenrolle-degradiert-im-labyrinth-des-schweigens>) (last consulted 12-11-2016).

²⁸ See De Haan, *Na de ondergang*; Novick, *The Holocaust and Collective Memory*; Levy and Sznaider, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*; Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch'; Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*.

²⁹ Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 209-213.

those months: it had become a 'public event of the first degree'.³⁰ The discussions were prolonged after the cinematographic contributions made by French filmmaker Claude Lanzmann and American director Steven Spielberg. Lanzmann made a nine-and-a-half hour documentary film *Shoah* (1985), which is sometimes considered the most prominent visual documentation of oral history of the Holocaust. Lanzmann excluded historical footage and images of the past from all of his films, including *Shoah*. He only used testimonies from Jewish, Polish, and German victims, bystanders and perpetrators, and contemporary footage of several Holocaust-related sites. He chose not to reconstruct or represent the past, nor to show images of suffering or death. In this sense Lanzmann's approach is very much different from Spielberg's feature film *Schindler's List* (1993). What Spielberg claims to offer his audience, says Lanzmann, is 'access to reality', which is, however, in fact a 'constructed narrative which tends to trivialize the event itself'. This, Lanzmann believes, is a 'moral crime' and 'an assassination of memory'.³¹

There are several reasons why I have chosen for this comparative approach. Comparing history textbooks produced in two countries may provide more information about the extent in which the national contexts of the textbooks played a crucial role regarding the contents of these textbooks, or more general developments, such as the social and political contexts or the emerging didactics of history. The comparison of the history textbooks in these two countries deliberately involves a 'perpetrator country' and an occupied country. I expected that a country that had been victim to occupation and oppression would be very specific in delineating the nature of its victimhood, whereas a perpetrator country might be more reluctant to demonstrate its historical responsibility for the crimes committed in the name of National Socialism.³² In this context, it is important to know how these nations have portrayed WWII and the Holocaust. Longitudinal and comparative history textbook studies are hardly available. A systematic, comparative and in depth study of the development of dominant perspectives of the Holocaust in history textbooks does not yet exist. And, to my knowledge, there are no comparative studies on Holocaust narratives in German and Dutch history textbooks.³³

The choice for North Rhine-Westphalia is made because it is the largest German state (or *Bundesland*), in size and density of the population comparable to the Netherlands. It is adjacent to the Netherlands and can therefore be considered more or less a neighboring country. Furthermore, the selection of one German state was necessary because the German educational structure comprises sixteen different curricula, including one curriculum in NRW, whereas in the Netherlands there is only one.³⁴ Germany, being a

³⁰ Zielinski and Custance, 'History as Entertainment and Provocation', 88-89.

³¹ Saxton, *Haunted Images*, 10 and 26-27.

³² The German Democratic Republic is excluded from this research for various reasons. Apart from pragmatic ones, a main dissimilarity with the West German situation, is that in the GDR hardly any attention was given to the persecution of the European Jews, since the antagonism between 'socialists' and 'imperialists' was at the heart of East German historical culture. Moreover, only one history textbook was used nationwide, with new editions every eight to ten years, whereas in the Federal Republic of Germany some thirty to forty textbooks competed at the same time. (Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks', 47-50).

³³ See Friedlander, *On the Holocaust*; Perlmutter, 'Revisions of the Holocaust'; Pingel, *The European Home*; Soysal, 'Identity and Transnationalization'; Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks'; Wenzeler, 'The Presentation of the Holocaust'; Frohnert "'We want to learn from the past'"; Russel, *Teaching the Holocaust in school history*; Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*; Lindquist, 'The coverage of the Holocaust'; Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*).

³⁴ In fact, there are over a hundred curricula in Germany, since there is a separate curriculum for each school type in each state (see Erdmann and Hasberg, 'History Culture, History Didactics and History Teaching in Germany', 316).

federal state, has shared educational responsibility between the central institutions and the sixteen *Bundesländer* (since 1990). In almost every state, the *Kultusministerium* needs to approve textbooks used in secondary education. This leads to a difficult situation for textbook researchers: in average, over forty textbooks are being used throughout the whole of Germany simultaneously for each school subject. Fortunately, there is a considerable overlap in the authorization of history textbooks throughout the country.

1.2 The aftermath of the war: victims and victimhood

In the first decades after the war, many Europeans remembered WWII through nationally framed notions of heroism and suffering. Initially, according to historian Alon Confino, remembrances of WWII in Europe have mainly been characterized by heroic narratives. The Great Patriotic War in Russia, resistance fighters in France and The Netherlands or the fierce opposition of the British during the Battle of Britain are just a few examples of the attempts to recover or re-establish national identities immediately after the war. The notion of 'victimhood' initially played a role as a metaphor for the suffering of the population in the occupied countries: the persecutions by the oppressors and the economic devastations or the loss of sovereignty due to the occupation led these nations to 'construct a myth of martyrdom'.³⁵

Some researchers have demonstrated a hierarchy in memories of suffering and war violence. Why are some war victims easily recognized or remembered in collective memory, while others remain obscured for decades? Aleida Assmann has distinguished between two categories of victims, for which she has used the Latin terms *sacrificium* and *victima*. Victims of the first category, says Assmann, were people who have made sacrifices for an alleged 'good cause': they died for their country, for progress or peace, for democracy or civilization. These victims are likely to be quickly and publicly remembered, for instance through monuments or in official ceremonies. The other category, the *victima*, is seen as a passive group of victims who lack agency and are supposed to have died 'in vain'. These victims cannot be part of heroic narratives, and are surrounded by an atmosphere of traumatic memory. A cultural or political recognition of this victimhood seems almost impossible. For their own collective, the memory is too traumatic, for outsiders too elusive.³⁶

In an era of a 'new beginning' and reconstruction there seemed to have been little place for the victims of the Holocaust. Some have stated that this mnemonic process served as a defence mechanism to avoid moral responsibility for their roles as Holocaust perpetrators, bystanders, or collaborators. Blaming 'it' all on the Germans was a way of closing their eyes to widespread collaboration or non-engagement. In this context it is not as astonishing as it may seem that antisemitism remained unchallenged and present in Europe in the early years after the war. In the Netherlands for instance, stateless Jews were arrested or extradited after their return from the camps.³⁷ Apart from the fact that deep-rooted convictions do not change overnight, Jews were not considered as the 'real' victims of the war. When it became clear, however, that the Dutch had not been as heroic as hitherto believed and that most Dutch Jews had been murdered, the question arose how to

³⁵ See Klemann, *Nederland 1938-1948* and Lagrou, *The Legacy of Occupation* and Confino, 'Remembering the Second World War', 46-75.

³⁶ Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit*, 72-80. For an extensive elaboration of this issue see Grever, 'Teaching the War', 4.

³⁷ See Lagrou, *The Legacy of Occupation*, 255-256 and Van Liempt, *Selma*.

integrate these negative aspects in a collective national identity. The past could no longer be perceived as a 'source of pride', but instead as a 'source of shame', as Jolande Withuis has argued.³⁸

Yet, gradually, the notion of *victimhood* has developed into a major component of collective identities: just like 'heroism' it also became important for collective self-esteem.³⁹ In *Aversion and Erasure: The Fate of the Victim after the Holocaust*⁴⁰, Carolyn Dean has demonstrated how suffering and trauma in the western world have become key elements of collective identities. Different groups of Holocaust victims have been competing for recognition and acknowledgement of their distress, partly because such proclamations of victimhood are believed to be decisive in defining their collective credibility. This has led to a 'sanctification' of the Holocaust in the collective memories in postwar European societies.⁴¹

In West Germany a collective urge for 'self-victimization' emerged after the war. The notion of a 'doubly victimized nation' materialized: first, the Germans were seized by a criminal Nazi regime, then by a hostile communist state in Eastern Europe.⁴² 'Victims', in this perception, were not the Jews, nor others persecuted by the Nazis, but only 'good Germans', meaning those who had suffered from displacements or Allied air raids. Especially the forced migration of twelve million Germans from Eastern Europe (including the death of two million people, the violation of women and plundering of German possessions), the fact that more than three million former soldiers were held as prisoners of war in the Soviet Union (until 1955) and the Allied bombardments of German cities in which approximately 500,000 people lost their lives, were highlighted in several public debates. Even up to 2002, after Jörg Friedrich's publication *Der Brand. Deutschland im Bombenkrieg 1940-1945*⁴³ the debate about German victimhood was alive.⁴⁴

Another controversial issue in the German context is the narrative about *Stunde Null* - a period of inner decay when popular support for National Socialism in West Germany quickly disappeared after being confronted with the immensity of the crimes and out of fear of revenge by the Allies. This general image of the year 1945 suggests a historical discontinuity which actually didn't exist. Establishing a new beginning, as Zerubavel has demonstrated, creates a form of *mnemonic myopia*: the 'transformation of identity' often erases every link with the past. It therefore seems unnecessary to deal with that past.⁴⁵ In the case of West Germany, the abrupt end of National Socialism inflicted by the Allies was blocking an open and realistic debate on issues of complicity, responsibility or guilt. Many West Germans refrained from serious reflection on the Holocaust or other Nazi crimes, a refusal that has been interpreted as a continuation of the 'indifference' among the German population. It may be difficult to understand now that in the 1950s, the sufferings of Germans and Jews were sometimes put on the same level. In West Germany e.g., Adenauer's secretary of Justice Thomas Dehler stated that 'Germans and Jews had experienced the same forms of persecution', because both had 'suffered the destruction of political rights, property, and life'. Even the language was copied: a leading civil servant

³⁸ Withuis, *Erkenning*.

³⁹ Confino, 'Remembering the Second World War', 52.

⁴⁰ Dean, *Aversion and Erasure*.

⁴¹ Dean, *Aversion and Erasure*, 1-3.

⁴² See Moeller, *War Stories* and Schildt, 'Die langen Schatten des Krieges über der westdeutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft', 225.

⁴³ Friedrich, *Der Brand*.

⁴⁴ Dassen, Nijhuis and Thijs, *Duitsers als slachtoffers*, 19.

⁴⁵ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 89-92.

mentioned 'final solutions' against the expelled Germans.⁴⁶ One needs to take into account, however, that the contemporary status of the Holocaust 'as a moral compass' and its alleged historical 'uniqueness' derives from a history of comprehension of the Holocaust. And we must not forget that the full details of the so-called *Endlösung* were not disclosed nor understood until long after the war.⁴⁷

In the 1960s, younger generations started to challenge the war generations about their individual culpabilities. They believed that still too little was done to come to terms with the Nazi past. Their focus was on the (former) perpetrators: the then popular neo-Marxist interpretations of National Socialism (e.g. by the *Frankfurter Schule*) left little room for Jewish victimhood. After the broadcast of the American drama series *Holocaust* in 1979, the political debate on Nazism changed. Pingel has claimed that – through this television series - the 'suffering of the victims and the willingness by which 'ordinary' civilians participated in these crimes' suddenly became visible for both the public and academics.⁴⁸ Before *Holocaust* was broadcast in Germany in January 1979, many discussions and publications had preceded the transmission. TV-viewers were prepared for the series by German-made documentaries. Political parties, Christian institutions and Jewish organizations encouraged West Germans to watch the program. Neo-Nazis agitated as well; there were even bomb attacks on ARD-studios during the broadcast of an introductory documentary. Never had the Holocaust been discussed more fiercely in West Germany than during that week. The Holocaust had become a 'public event of the first degree'. Not many Germans, however, were enthusiastic about the series. Some agreed with Elie Wiesel saying this was nothing more than the 'trivialization of an ontological event', resulting in a 'soap opera'. Others were indignant that the displacement of millions of Germans from Eastern Europe was not mentioned.⁴⁹

In the 1980s, politicians and scholars were urging for 'normalization' in debates between Jews and non-Jews (*Ende der Schonzeit* or 'End of the Honeymoon'). But time was not ripe for 'normalization' yet, as several incidents and conflicts proved. A US-German reconciliation attempt in 1985 led to the highly controversial Bitburg-affair,⁵⁰ film director Rainer Werner Fassbinder was accused of 'secondary antisemitism' after staging his play *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod*,⁵¹ and president of the German Bundestag Philipp Jenninger's parliamentary address in 1988⁵² caused uproar in public opinion.

⁴⁶ Moeller, *War Stories*, 32-33.

⁴⁷ Confino, 'Remembering the Second World War', 56.

⁴⁸ Pingel, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust in westdeutschen Schulbüchern', 228.

⁴⁹ Zielinski and Custance, 'History as Entertainment and Provocation', 86-89. See also Fohrmann, 'Der Aufschub des Erzählens', 43-58.

⁵⁰ During a state visit in West Germany, US President Ronald Reagan and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl visited on 5 May 1985 the memorial of the concentration camp Bergen-Belsen in Celle and the military cemetery Bitburg- Kolmeshöhe in Bitburg. The ceremonial visit to the latter site became highly debated, because in Bitburg German Wehrmacht soldiers as well as members of the *Waffen SS* were buried there.

⁵¹ *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod* ('Garbage, the City and Death') is a controversial play directed by German theatre and film director Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1945-1982). Staging of the play was prevented in the 1980s by demonstrators, because it displayed antisemitic stereotypes of 'rich Jews'. Further plans to show the piece in West Germany were abandoned. In 2009, the play was performed for the first time in Germany; by contrast, it was staged in Israel in 1999 without protests

(<http://www.derwesten.de/staedte/muelheim/absetzung-von-fassbinder-stueck-gefordert-id189801.html>) (last consulted 1-10-15).

⁵² Jenninger had been president of the *Bundestag* since 1994. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the *Reichskristallnacht*, Philipp Jenninger delivered a speech that created a scandal. Two days later, the CDU-politician resigned from his post. Much of the criticisms amounted to the fact that Jenninger hadn't distanced himself enough from the Nazi past' (http://www.zeit.de/1995/50/Deutsche_Zwillinge) (last consulted 18-9-2015).

President Von Weizsäcker's 1985 commemorative address about the 'liberation' of Germany by the Allies on 8th May 1945, made it clear that the *Stunde Null*-narrative was slowly shifting. After the German reunification in 1990, many hoped and believed that Germany could return to a 'normal' process of nation building, characterized by more positive features of its history and remembrance. The National Socialist past and the Holocaust, hitherto a major obstacle in the development of German national self-consciousness, seemed to have reached the stadium of history and museum representation. Events in the first years after the reunification, however, demonstrated that quite the opposite was true. The success of Spielberg's feature film *Schindler's List* in 1993, the immense debates after the 1996 publication of *Hitler's Willing Executioners* by Harvard historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen,⁵³ as well as the public discourse over the Wehrmacht exhibitions in the years between 1995 and 2004 (see chapter 2), made it clear that the Nazi past was still overshadowing the seemingly innocent scenery of German society after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The younger generations – born long after 1945 – still had to cope with the difficult heritage their forefathers had left them with.⁵⁴

Astonishingly, the study in Germany of postwar reactions to the Holocaust has produced roughly twice as many publications as the research into the event itself. Whether this can be explained by – as Ulrich Herbert claims – an 'escape into the exploration of perceptions', because the analysis of the terrible events is too distressing, seems difficult to prove.⁵⁵ Aggressive nationalism, ethnic policies and genocides are not exclusively German phenomena. They can happen elsewhere too. Yet, discussions on the uniqueness of the Nazi crimes and the Holocaust in particular are still paramount.⁵⁶ The Holocaust has become omnipresent in German society, compared to the anathema that it used to be. The philosopher Hermann Lübbe speaks of *Sündenstolz*, as if one would collectively take pride in acknowledging guilt.⁵⁷ In the words of Dan Diner: the collective memory of Germany will always be connected to National Socialism; either in the 'recognition of guilt and responsibility, or in its denial'.⁵⁸

Nevertheless, Holocaust research has become much more differentiated over the years. Hilberg's trichotomy of 'Perpetrators, Victims and Bystanders'⁵⁹ has not proven to be fully satisfactory in describing the diversity of events, of the processes, of human behaviour and attitudes towards the multifactorial and complex range of events we have learned to call 'the Holocaust'. This representation of reality does not do justice to the 'multiple roles and dynamic role changes' of the protagonists and contemporaries. Sometimes, boundaries between victims, perpetrators, bystanders and helpers are transparent: victims were not only passively led to extermination but resisted on more than just a few occasions. Bystanders were actively engaged in the process of discrimination and persecution. Perpetrators were to a large part 'ordinary men', not only psychopathic murderers. In the 'Introduction' to *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, Friedlander noted that the goal of his book was to 'convey an account in which Nazi policies are indeed the central element, but in which the surrounding world and the victims' attitudes, reactions, and fate are no less an integral part of this unfolding history'.⁶⁰

⁵³ Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.

⁵⁴ Kershaw, *Hitler, de Duitsers en de Holocaust*, 330-333.

⁵⁵ Herbert, 'Holocaust-Forschung in Deutschland' in Bajohr and Löw (eds.), *Der Holocaust*, 68.

⁵⁶ Dassen et al., *Duitsers als slachtoffers*, 33.

⁵⁷ Idem, 79.

⁵⁸ Diner, *Kreisläufe*, 118.

⁵⁹ Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*.

⁶⁰ Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution 1933–1939*, 1-2.

In Europe – including the Netherlands – after 1945, the concept of victimhood was neither designated to Jews nor to Communists: both groups did not play a visible role in the patriotic mnemonic landscape that existed after the war.⁶¹ This might explain why Dutch prime minister Mark Rutte appeared to be unfamiliar – at a press conference in April 2012 – with the national war monument the *Hollandsche Schouwburg*. Rutte is a historian who has been head of government since October 2010 and previously served as a State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science. This former theatre in Amsterdam, located in the heart of the old Jewish quarter of the city and monument since 1958, was used by the Nazis in 1942 and 1943 to gather Jews from all over the country from which they were deported to transit Camp Westerbork and from there to Sobibór and Auschwitz. Few people survived: 104,000 Dutch Jews were murdered in the death camps in eastern Europe. In 2012 a Dutch feature film was released on the dramatic events in this Dutch Theater.⁶² Prime minister Rutte had to admit that he didn't know what the *Hollandsche Schouwburg* stood for. This led to total incomprehension in national media: how could it be that a leading politician, a teacher and a historian, was unaware of the historical significance of one of the three or four most important places of interest in the Netherlands – next to the Anne Frank House and Camp Westerbork – with regard to the persecution of the Jews during WWII?⁶³

Rutte's unawareness of this monument seems to reflect the limited attention for Jewish victimhood, despite the overwhelming reputation of Anne Frank. After WWII, the traumatic experiences of the Jewish people were hardly recognized by the larger public in the Netherlands. When in 1947 parliament approved the *Wet Buitengewoon Pensioen* ('Exceptional Pensions Act'), surviving Jewish deportees were excluded from benefits because they had not been participating in 'resistance activities'.⁶⁴ The Association of Ex-Political Prisoners *Expogé* (founded in September 1945) considered itself as the exclusive heir to Dutch resistance, therefore rejecting cooperation with other organizations. *Expogé* distinguished 'resistance' from 'oppression': Jews who had not been active as resistance fighters could therefore not join the organization.⁶⁵ During the years of the Cold War, *Expogé* had strong anti-communist beliefs. After the Marxist upsurge in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the organization decided to ban communists from their ranks. This led to an increasingly ideological opposition to a new organization representing victims of oppression by the Nazis: the Netherlands Auschwitz Committee (founded in 1956). This NAC was believed to be close to the communist party.⁶⁶ Anti-fascism was their main concern and this left little room for demarcation of specific Jewish victimhood. 'Victims' of WWII, Withuis claims, could therefore become 'enemies'. Focusing on passive victimhood was not considered to be 'politically correct' within the context of the Cold War and war traumas were not catered for. National commemorations dealt with resistance rather than the suffering of the Jews. Nationalist and one-dimensional recollections prevailed. In Withuis' words: "Dachau, not Auschwitz symbolized the evils of Nazism".⁶⁷

The Holocaust, so it seemed, was 'locked out' of Dutch collective memory immediately after the war. It was not until the 1960s that a certain awareness and consciousness emerged about the persecution of the Jews and about the role and

⁶¹ Confino, 'Remembering the Second World War', 49.

⁶² <http://www.hollandscheschouwburg.nl/> (last consulted 25-11-15).

⁶³ <http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4492/Nederland/article/detail/3243852/2012/04/20/Rutte-met-mond-vol-tanden-om-verzamelpaats-joden.dhtml> (last consulted 15-4-2017).

⁶⁴ Withuis and Annet Mooij (eds.), *The Politics of War Trauma*, 196.

⁶⁵ <http://www.oorlogsgetroffenen.nl/archiefvormer/Expoge> (last consulted 28-9-2015).

⁶⁶ Bijl, *Nooit Meer Auschwitz*.

⁶⁷ Withuis and Mooij (eds.), *The Politics of War Trauma*, 197-199.

responsibility of Dutch society in this tragedy. Until then, hardly any attention was paid to the persecution and destruction of the Jews, with the possible exception of the diary of Anne Frank. But most of the suffering was supposedly put away behind a screen of nationalist historiography and black-and-white-thinking, and public opinion on the Holocaust changed – as in the West German traditional narrative - with the arrival of a new generation in the 1960s. Under the influence of left-wing or neo-Marxist society critics, the Holocaust was metaphorically put into position as a ‘crowbar’ to open up discussions about postwar society. After the Eichmann-trial in Israel, the television series about the Netherlands during WWII (*De Bezetting*, or ‘The Occupation’) by Loe de Jong (first broadcast between 1960 and 1965) and the 1965 publication of the monumental study of the persecution of the Dutch Jews *Ondergang* (‘Destruction’) by historian Jacques Presser, things changed. Collective public interest in the Holocaust increased during the 1960s, and became enormous after 1979 because of the broadcast of the television series *Holocaust*. Ido de Haan, however, claims that changes in public perception of the Holocaust were already apparent during the 1950s, both in historiography and in public debates. There had been numerous scandals that were indicative in the political and public debates in the late 1940s and in the 1950s with regard to the persecution of the Dutch Jews during the war. The abolishment of visa restrictions for German tourists in 1954, the Schokking affair 1954-1955,⁶⁸ the 1962 Amsterdam Student Corps fresher’s-ceremony⁶⁹ and especially several discussions on four German prisoners in Breda⁷⁰ called attention to the sensitivity of the topic in Dutch postwar political and public debates. But, in spite of these scandals De Haan claims, the marginality of Jewish victimhood remained a constant factor.⁷¹

In the 1970s, the Holocaust was most commonly addressed in terms of ‘trauma’ and ‘psychological damage’, but seldom in terms of ‘crime’ or ‘punishment’ or ‘responsibility’ or ‘accountability’. With this development, the formerly marginalized position of the Jewish survivors began to change. Why has this ‘mental health approach’ been so dominant in the Netherlands? According to De Haan increasing attention for the position of the victims occurred because of the growing influence of psychology and psychiatry in the Netherlands. Although immediately after the war some (Jewish) therapists had already

⁶⁸ Frans Schokking (1908-1990) was mayor of the provincial town of Hazerswoude. Although he (illegally) lodged several people in his own home, Schokking allegedly was involved in the arrest of a Jewish family in 1942. The family was killed during the war, Postwar investigations by three government commissions exonerated Schokking. In 1955, however, the matter was revived by a The Hague newspaper, where Schokking had become mayor. Again, after thorough investigations, he was acquitted. In July 1956 Schokking voluntarily resigned.

⁶⁹ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 11-13. A national debate on antisemitism took place in 1962 in response to incidents at the traditional initiation in an Amsterdam University Student Society. A number of freshmen - Jews and non-Jews - were forced to play ‘Dachau’. When some Jewish students protested and said that relatives of them had been killed in the camps, they were denounced by the other students as ‘dirty Jews’ (<http://www.annefrank.org/nl/Educatie/Discriminatie-in-Nederland/Kronieken/Kroniek-antisemitisme/Omslag-in-publieke-opinie/Sterker-wordend-taboe/>) (last consulted 29-9-2015).

⁷⁰ After the war, eighteen German war criminals were sentenced to death in the Netherlands. Eventually, four Germans remained in Dutch prisons. After one of them was released, these prisoners became known as ‘the Breda Three’. In 1972, Justice Minister Dries van Agt planned to release the prisoners. Initially, a large majority of the parliament felt the same way, but public protests were overwhelming. The parliamentary hearing was the first to be broadcast on national television. Dramatic scenes from the public stands and outside of parliament disquieted many politicians. In the end, it was decided not to release the Breda Three, according to Hinke Piersma because ‘feelings of guilt’ overwhelmed Dutch society. Public airing of traumatic Jewish suffering caused a resurgence of victim-oriented collectivity. The Jews had ‘not been saved’, not even by national resistance. See Withuis and Mooij (eds.), *The Politics of War Trauma*, 206-208; Piersma, *De Drie van Breda*.

⁷¹ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 99-100.

published on long term effects of war trauma, imprisonment and camp experiences,⁷² it wasn't until the 1970s that the psycho-traumatic suffering of Jewish survivors was finally and officially recognized. In 1973, a new law was passed settling benefits for victims of persecutions (*Wet Uitkeringen Vervolgden*, WUV).⁷³ Furthermore, political and ideological differences between former resistance organizations disappeared slowly, which fostered cooperation. After the Israeli-Arab Six Days War of 1967, discussions on the legitimate status of the state of Israel became part of the debate as well.⁷⁴

According to Abraham de Swaan, the repercussions of the Holocaust were considered in a psychological context because of the inability or unwillingness to incorporate and assimilate them in the public debate. Although main collaborators and war criminals had been tried after the war, collective or individual responsibilities with regard to the persecutions were being suppressed. Remembering the Holocaust, De Swaan claims, was institutionally 'barred behind the screens of medical care'. As a way of escaping open attestation, collective and political problems were being 'restricted to individual and psychological difficulties'.⁷⁵ But, as seen before, there were lots of earlier political and public discussions on the Holocaust: in this sense, the event can hardly be regarded as 'suppressed'. And, as De Haan claims, the psychological approach has not hindered the public debate, as De Swaan suggested, but its vocabulary presented a platform on which the Holocaust could be discussed in a political context. It has to be said however, that the Holocaust was not portrayed as a crime towards the Jews, but as damage to the reputation of non-Jewish Dutch people. The Jewish community had lost control over its own suffering again.⁷⁶

1.3 Changing historical cultures: history teaching in a globalizing society

The changing context of my research consists of *dynamic interactions* within the historical culture between society, historical scholarship and secondary school history education. In concurrence with fellow-researchers⁷⁷ we can define *historical culture* as the 'constitution of a mental landscape of explicit and implicit historical awareness provided to us by education, but also by the daily infrastructure of historical encounters'. Historical culture is dynamic and it reflects the way societies have dealt with and related to the past. In order to understand this dynamical character of historical culture we need to investigate the production and reproduction of historical knowledge and awareness as well as its social infrastructure. Societies 'deal with the past' through experiencing history education, visiting museums, commemorating historical events, and so on.⁷⁸

One key-aspect of conveying historical culture through history education is the establishment of an identification process with past-time phenomena and personalities. Through school history youngsters are confronted with an authoritative narrative of past time experiences.⁷⁹ For a long time, school history and standard narratives have been

⁷² Withuis and Mooij (eds.), *The Politics of War Trauma*, 199-202.

⁷³ Idem, 208-209.

⁷⁴ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 131-132.

⁷⁵ De Swaan, 'Het concentratiekampsyndroom als sociaal probleem', 140-150.

⁷⁶ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 131-135 and 156.

⁷⁷ Rüsen, *Historisches Lernen*; Ribbens, *Een eigentijds verleden*; Grever and Ribbens *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*; Grever, *Fear of Plurality*.

⁷⁸ Grever, 'Dilemmas of Common and Plural History', 54.

⁷⁹ Ribbens, 'A Narrative', 63-64.

aiming at identification with the nation-state and other shared communities.⁸⁰ However, history education in a multicultural and globalized society does no longer fulfill this role of transferring common visions on a shared past. Instead, contesting narratives and perspectives tend to compete within societies and even within the classroom more than before. Research has shown that only a minority of youngsters consider national history as "the" most important topic to learn about in history education. Their family history was said to be the most important.⁸¹

As Maria Grever has demonstrated, *common history*, in the meaning of 'shared historical knowledge', does not necessarily have to be at odds with *plural history*. Although many scholars argue that it is important that students learn about the history of their country of residence – therewith acquiring a sense of citizenship and common identity – they do not assert that history education should exclusively deal with the nation or that this would exclude opposing views on the past.⁸² Plural history therefore appertains to different and sometimes conflicting perspectives based on a selection of sources, geographical levels, historical agents, plotlines, and historiographies. Selection takes place by historians, based on outcomes of historical research, scientific paradigms or ideological views. Narratives are therefore always created from specific perspectives. According to Grever, when students are taught through plural perspectives, they will obtain a 'deeper sense of historical reality'. Furthermore, through critical and studious analysis of conflicting perspectives and sources, students get acquainted with the alleged dichotomy of living in a 'pluralist yet common world'. There are several difficulties attached to these principles, one of which is the fact that some perspectives offer problematic viewpoints. In case of the Holocaust, for instance, 'empathizing' through the perspective of the perpetrators seems highly undesirable.⁸³ In the next section, I will turn to the implications these insights have had for Holocaust education.

For a long time, in both (West) Germany and the Netherlands, historical scholarship on the Holocaust has been concentrating on analyzing actions and motives of the perpetrators, rather than portraying the personal experiences of and consequences for the victims. Since the 1970s public debates on the matter emphasized exactly the opposite. In current education also, personal experiences and individual testimonies of the *victims* is likewise very present in the recollection of the Holocaust. In teaching practice, this 'personification of history' is being displayed through various films, graphic novels or (museum) excursions, through which students implicitly focus on (sometimes fictionalized) testimonies and thus have the opportunity of empathizing with – in this case – Holocaust victims.⁸⁴ By doing so, one might say that 'historical scholarship is being sacrificed on the altar of collective memory'.⁸⁵ In this sense, the Holocaust is sometimes removed from its historical context. The historical perspective has moved from overall national reflection to individual stories, especially after the 1990s (see chapter 2). The question, however, is whether this personified and partially fictionalized approach to the Holocaust is predominantly represented in history *textbooks*. If this is the case, the historical and pedagogical context becomes problematic: students will lack analytical and contextual understanding of the matter, notions on guilt and responsibility will be neglected or

⁸⁰ See Grever and Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*; Ribbens, *Een eigentijds verleden*.

⁸¹ Ribbens, 'A Narrative', 68 and Grever 'Dilemmas of Common and Plural History', 76-77.

⁸² Grever, 'Dilemmas of Common and Plural History', 85.

⁸³ Idem, 77, 86-87. See also Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 126-127.

⁸⁴ Van Vree, 'Door de ogen', 6-9.

⁸⁵ Lorenz, 'Twee soorten catastrofe', 25 and 33.

misconstrued, and history education will be partly based on emotions and therefore likely to be open to manipulation for ideological purposes.⁸⁶ In addition it is questionable, however, whether and how WWII and the Holocaust are represented in history textbooks as pan-global or multi-national historic phenomena. It might also be difficult to determine the underlying agendas that have defined the selection of information, or to ascertain what is included and what is excluded.⁸⁷

Although over the years attention for the Holocaust has dramatically increased, professional knowledge about the subject of teaching about the Holocaust is still a matter of concern. In a survey held in 2009, conducted by the Holocaust Education Development Program (HEDP, University of London),⁸⁸ one of the conclusions was that a vast majority of British teachers in secondary schools found teaching about and learning from the Holocaust extremely difficult. Over 82% of the teachers believed to have gained insufficient knowledge on the Holocaust, and that they needed more support in order to increase their skills on this subject. Such findings also seem to apply to Dutch teachers.⁸⁹ In the British context most teachers seemed to rely on non-academic sources on the Holocaust. They indicated that they preferred using films, literature, documentaries or other resources rather than textbooks. In fact, many of them claimed that history textbooks were 'producing stereotypes' on the Holocaust and were therefore not considered to be useful teaching materials. That is why many of them named the film *Schindler's List* as their most valuable didactical source.⁹⁰

General shortcomings in Holocaust education were – among other things – a reason for the founding of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) – initially known as Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research (ITF) – in 1998. The Berlin-based IHRA is striving to mobilise and coordinate 'support for Holocaust education, remembrance, and research at national and international levels'.⁹¹ The non-governmental but state-supported organization was established at the initiative of the Prime Minister of Sweden Göran Persson, after a Swedish survey in 1997 had stated that many schoolchildren were not 'convinced' of the existence of the Holocaust. Because the living memories of the original survivors were fading away, the ITF/IHRA efforts were aimed at transferring the memory of the Holocaust into a long-term collective memory and thereby creating a trans-European supranational memory.⁹² In January 2005 the European Parliament decided that the day of the liberation of Auschwitz (27 January 1945) was to be a European day of commemoration. Since 2005, every state that aspires membership of the European Union, has to participate in IHRA and endorse its obligations.⁹³ Since 2001, the IHRA provides 'teaching guidelines' for Holocaust education.⁹⁴ Some scholars⁹⁵ have criticized the model of 'Holocaust-Education' developed by IHRA. The purpose of this intergovernmental body is to 'place political and social leaders' support behind the need for Holocaust education, remembrance and research both nationally and internationally'.⁹⁶ IHRA tries to homogenize the memories of the countries

⁸⁶ Van Vree, 'Door de ogen', 9.

⁸⁷ Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*, 7-8.

⁸⁸ See Pettigrew et. al., *Teaching about the Holocaust*.

⁸⁹ See Boersema and Schimmel, 'Choices And Empathetic Capacity', and Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*.

⁹⁰ Pettigrew et. al., *Teaching about the Holocaust*, 45-46.

⁹¹ <http://www.holocaustremembrance.com/about-us> (last consulted 27-12-2015).

⁹² Assmann and Conrad, *Memory in a Global Age*, 102.

⁹³ Aleida Assmann, 'Die Erinnerungen an den Holocaust', 68.

⁹⁴ <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/educate/teaching-guidelines> (last consulted 30-12-2015).

⁹⁵ See Ehmann, 'Holocaust-Erziehung in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: Analyse und Kritik', 367-379.

⁹⁶ <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/> (last consulted 2-10-15).

involved, thereby creating or strengthening transnational memory (and exporting Holocaust memory to other countries). In the IHRA country reports, questions are being asked like: 'how many hours are allocated to teaching and learning about the Holocaust in schools?' 'Has your country instituted a national Holocaust memorial and/or museum?' 'What are the three major textbooks used in teaching the Holocaust in your country?' 'How many pages do your school textbooks allocate to the Holocaust?'.⁹⁷ An additional problem, however, is the growing uneasiness with the 'Americanization' of Holocaust memory (see chapter 2) which has strengthened non-western opposition to this 'exportation' of western values through Holocaust remembrance. Sometimes, anti-Israeli sentiments play a role in this context: an example of which was the Iranian conference 'Review of the Holocaust: Global Vision' held in December 2006).⁹⁸

Holocaust Remembrance Day was initiated at the United Nations as from 2005. One of the effects of this global memorization of the Holocaust is the loss of its spatial limits. In the United States, according to Assmann and Conrad, the Holocaust is taught as part of American history, and 'some Americans now think of the Holocaust as 'the worst event in American history''.⁹⁹ This universal development of Holocaust memory culture has transferred the phenomenon into an enigmatic, unspecific, and more abstract historical artefact. Local, regional or national differences are increasingly being ignored. After the war, the Holocaust was immersed in the history of WWII, and now it is being 'covered over by a unified and locally disconnected memory'. The Holocaust has been 'promoted' as a universal norm which transcends the quality of a historic experience. It has become a general warning against antisemitism and in favor of human rights.¹⁰⁰

1.4 Theoretical framework: narratives and plotlines

There are three important contexts through which my analysis of the Holocaust in history textbooks can be understood. The first context concerns the academic and public historical and historiographical debates on the Holocaust since WWII. Such debates in the two countries have both influenced and were shaped by what Zerubavel has called *mnemonic communities*.¹⁰¹ In chapter two of this study I will demonstrate how public discourses have influenced the way in which postwar societies in (West) Germany and the Netherlands have dealt with the history of Holocaust.

The second context is related to the transnational character of the Holocaust (also covered in chapter two). National states are important producers of collective memories.¹⁰² But some collective memories go beyond the range of national cultures, and have been lifted up to a transnational level of remembering. The Holocaust can be seen as such a multi-layered, European or non-national historical set of events, where perpetrators and victims from different national states have acted. The main group of victims itself – European Jewry – was transnationally 'constituted', or – in the words of Hannah Arendt – a 'non-national element in a world of growing or existing nations'.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/educate/education-reports> (last consulted 7-12-2015).

⁹⁸ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/dec/12/iran.israel> (last consulted 30-12-2015).

⁹⁹ Assmann and Conrad, *Memory in a Global Age*, 103.

¹⁰⁰ Idem, 103 and 122-124.

¹⁰¹ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 2-3.

¹⁰² Wertsch, 'Specific narratives and schematic narrative templates', 49-62.

¹⁰³ Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, 52.

The third context deals with the educational infrastructure in both countries. I will elaborate on this in chapter three. Developments in (history) education reflect common points of reference that have been constructed in societies. In this context, I shall use the terms 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory', coined by Jan Assmann. 'Communicative memory' is the existing form of collective memory that is passed along by (three) generations that 'witnessed' certain historical events, usually lasting seventy-five to a hundred years. When these generations wither away, the connection between first-hand stories and the event itself, disappears. Then another form of collective remembering remains, which Assmann has called 'cultural memory': the transmission of knowledge from the past through institutions, traditions, rituals, monuments and canonized texts, such as in education.¹⁰⁴ The comparative character of this study therefore hopes to provide insight in the ways through which national and transnational Holocaust narratives are related through representations in history textbooks.¹⁰⁵ This context will be covered in chapters four and five.

Concerning the actual analysis of history textbooks, I use theoretical concepts mainly derived from narratology and memory studies. To understand how history textbooks function in a society James Wertsch has distinguished narrative templates from specific narratives. *Specific narratives* are defined here as specific accounts of the past and 'the focus of history instruction in textbooks'. They have 'specific settings, characters and sequences of events'. They are organized around 'mid-level-events': with temporal and spatial boundaries, and with actors as representatives of certain groups or ideologies, these narratives usually deal with political history.¹⁰⁶ Specific narratives are part of the cultural inheritance of societies from which individuals can choose and are deeply rooted in our culture, language and history. Narrativity is the main tool through which societies remember certain events in the past; it includes morality and does not provide us with objective information on how to represent the past. Instead it includes moral issues which tend to enhance the simplification of the narrative interpretation of the past and stresses the fact that collective memory is 'impatient with ambiguities'.¹⁰⁷ *National* narratives here are understood to be stories about dramatic phenomena in the history of the nation, centered around national and heroic events or interpretations of that history. As we will see later in chapter 3, national narratives are important instruments for the creation of common (national) identities. Many believe that nations should incorporate homogeneous cultural communities, and that social cohesion and cultural unity of the nation is being endangered through processes of migration or globalization.¹⁰⁸ Especially in contested history topics, national narratives seem to be persistent, and still offer us national-mythical interpretations of that past.¹⁰⁹

As Ricoeur has stated, by telling stories, we integrate different viewpoints based on *emplotments*. But when the past is extremely horrendous or traumatic – as in case of the Holocaust – certain groups are burdened with emotional distress which hinders them in constructing a coherent narrative. One cannot keep the past at a distance when referring to Auschwitz, Ricoeur believes. Memories of that sort can be transmitted through *healing narratives* or *traumatic narratives*.¹¹⁰ However, telling stories about traumatic events like

¹⁰⁴ Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 29-34. See also the critical comments by Hogervorst, *Onwrikbare Herinnering*, 21.

¹⁰⁵ Hogervorst, *Onwrikbare herinnering*, 17-18.

¹⁰⁶ Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, 49-51.

¹⁰⁷ Idem, 123-124. See also Berger et al (eds.), *Narrating the Nation*.

¹⁰⁸ Grever, *Fear of Plurality*, 45.

¹⁰⁹ Grever, *Fear of Plurality*, 57-58.

¹¹⁰ Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* III, quoted in Grever, 'Dilemmas of Common and Plural History', 82.

mass murder or genocides sometimes comes very close to personal experiences of students and may be difficult or even impossible for them to deal with.¹¹¹

Teachers therefore are sometimes confronted with conflicting approaches when educating about the Holocaust. They have to find a balance between the affective and the cognitive: students can develop feelings as compassion and anger, yet at the same time they have to be taught factual 'truths' about the Holocaust. In this sense, students have to acquire a framework for understanding the Holocaust by using historical tools.¹¹² The underlying theoretical problem here is that of historical distancing: should (and can) historians (and history teachers) represent the past 'objectively', by safeguarding a distance between the present and the past?¹¹³ History education, according to some authors, should incorporate historical thinking concepts, which enables students to understand the past as a retrospective construction by historians based on evidence. Such construction includes the exploration of multiple perspectives on the past, through which students can acquire 'a richer and more complex account of historical events'. In this context, some distance towards the past is necessary so that students will be able to develop historical empathy rather than identifying themselves with historical agents.¹¹⁴ The problem with empathy, however, is that it is often confused with 'sympathy', understood as an affective engagement and agreement with historical actors. Historical empathy should therefore not be perceived as 'sharing feelings with people in the past', but as gaining understanding of how and why historical agents acted as they did.¹¹⁵ One of the problems with empathy is that the Holocaust has strongly been politicized. Students 'may find it politically incorrect to examine the motives of perpetrators'. Here the role of evidence is crucial. One has to deal with the Holocaust through the use of historical tools: one should begin by asking the right questions. If one would start with the affective approach (how do you feel about all this?), the Holocaust will become romanticized or diminished to victimhood.¹¹⁶

A historical narrative that includes multiple perspectives is likely to generate more historical distance than when presenting the past from a single point of view. Victim-oriented accounts of the Holocaust, for that matter, generally create more temporal proximity and increase the sense of intimacy one has with history. The perspectives that are present in narrative emplotments also tell us something about the degree of historical distance. For instance, in her well-known study on narratology Mieke Bal distinguishes 'external focalization' in narratives, where the story is told by an anonymous agent who reveals the historical narrative from an objective distance, from 'character focalization', where the narrator is one of the participants and therefore more likely to be subjective. Through character focalization, the past has been brought closer to the present thereby creating more emotional engagement.¹¹⁷ The extent to which the external focalization dominates in the German and Dutch history textbooks concerning the Holocaust, is one of the issues in this research.

From other studies we know that history textbooks can be seen as the outcome or reflection of a hierarchy in narratives; the authors decide what history is apparently worthwhile remembering. Yet in post conflict regions these narratives often serve

¹¹¹ Grever, 'Dilemmas of Common and Plural History', 82-83.

¹¹² Riley *The Holocaust and Historical Empathy*, 138-141.

¹¹³ See Grever, De Bruijn and Van Boxtel, 'Negotiating historical distance'; Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*.

¹¹⁴ De Bruijn, *Bridges to the Past*, 31.

¹¹⁵ Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, 234-237; De Bruijn, *Bridges to the Past*, 31.

¹¹⁶ Riley, 'The Holocaust and Historical Empathy', 150-160.

¹¹⁷ Bal, *Narratology*, 146-156.

contradictory aims.¹¹⁸ First, it is meant to explain how and why the conflict occurred in the first place and second it is applied to provide students (and society) with a post conflict narrative that preferably enhances social cohesion in a wounded society. These seem perfectly reasonable objectives at first glance, but may become difficult positions to uphold. Exposure and disclosure of historical conflicts is often painful and generally involves questions of guilt, responsibility or controversy. The historical debate emerging from or preceding the first aim of history teaching can therefore be most unaccommodating to establishing a new narrative that is fruitful to all parties. History education and history politics are therefore important factors in reconstructing post conflict societies, although it is sometimes 'overshadowed by a policy of remembrance that encapsulates or neutralizes the contested past.'¹¹⁹

Although family and peer-related narratives cannot be underestimated,¹²⁰ most studies show that historical awareness is mostly passed on by teachers, lessons and textbooks. Content and didactical approaches in historical textbooks and in education can be the outcome of standards in public debates and provide a reflection on *national narratives* in history and culture.¹²¹ In the context of analyzing narrative structures in history textbooks, one has to bear in mind that the presented historical reality is a constructed and dynamic entity, strongly based on language. The historian has creative power, and so has the author of textbooks. They both create interpretations, stories and narratives through rhetoric procedures that underpin the construction of history. With rhetoric procedures I mean 'the ways in which the narrative content is constructed and the use of the 'para-text' (illustrations, colors, headings, maps, statistics or graphics). Textbook authors select materials from historical facts, present these in narrative contexts, and furnish them with rhetorical procedures and assignments. They often present this unity of construction and communication as a clarification of historical truths. Academic doubts seldom appear in textbooks, mostly because pedagogical clarification is considered more important than epistemological reflection. These conflicting 'agencies' (clarifying texts versus exploring various perspectives) are not always fully understood in textbook writing or in textbook research. Hence, I expect that external focalization dominates Holocaust narratives in the history textbooks.

Inspired by Eviatar Zerubavel, I use 'plotlines' as a central concept, in order to be able to examine the ways the Holocaust is narrated or in other ways made visible in history textbook narratives. What we remember of history or what appears in history textbooks is - obviously - not a full account of everything that happened in the past, but only a minor part that we have chosen to remember. In a coalescence of personal and collective identities, we often assess the past as part of a community (e.g. our family, nation, ethnic group, gender or profession). This process of selection and identification with a collective past does not proceed without difficulties; Zerubavel speaks of 'mnemonic battles' going in in public forums like museums.¹²²

Through plot structures we narrate and interconnect past events, and thus providing them with historical meaning. And through 'social norms of remembrance'

¹¹⁸ Pingel, 'Can Truth Be Negotiated?', 183.

¹¹⁹ Idem, 187.

¹²⁰ See Seixas, 'Historical Understanding' and Grever, Pelzer & Haydn, 'High School Students' Views'.

¹²¹ See for instance Apple, *The Politics of the Textbook*; Soysal, 'Identity and Transnationalization'; Barton and Levstik, *Teaching history for the common good*; Foster and Crawford, *What Shall We Tell the Children*; Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*; Haydn, 'The Changing Form and Use of Textbooks'.

¹²² Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 2 and De Bruijn, *Bridges to the Past*.

collective groups decide what is worthwhile remembering, and what is not. This is what Zerubavel calls ‘mnemonic socialization’, which takes place in family settings, museums or education.¹²³ Historical events basically ‘happen’ unorganized; we turn them into allegedly coherent historical narratives through emplotment, which can be seen as manifestations of ‘social traditions of remembering’. Plotlines thus enable us to shape a consistent set of past events and processes, supplying them with ‘historical meaning’.¹²⁴

Zerubavel distinguishes synchronic and diachronic plots and four ‘ideal’ types of narrative plotlines. Progressive plotlines incorporate the notion of ‘progress’ and ‘evolution’, representing the past as inferior to the present. In declining plotlines the past is represented as superior to the present, leaving a social community that is essentially nostalgic in eulogizing a glorious past that seems to be lost forever. In zigzag plotlines the past is remembered as a multifaceted string of events, moving from decline to rise including major (retrospectively attributed) turning points, evident in narratives about national transitions after wars, crises or revolutions. Finally, in rhyming plotlines the past is fundamentally similar to the present. In such narratives, we force seemingly comparable persons and events into one mnemonic tradition. To be able to do that, we construct categories of comparison (like, ‘wars’ or ‘rulers’).¹²⁵

Through history education states often try to establish or strengthen national identity and loyal citizenship. This process usually develops relatively unnoticed. Whether this transfer is about history or about collective memory (or both) is debatable. National narratives mostly present one perspective on the past, manifesting a supposedly clear demonstration or reflection of the true and ‘real’ character of that past. Consequently, there is no capacity for opposing narratives. It is believed that such national narratives might lead to an over-simplification of historical knowledge, which also becomes ‘fixed and static’.¹²⁶ In such a way, a social group is being provided with a ‘usable past’. Even in relatively open societies one sometimes finds such a sense of authority in history textbooks, where representations of the past are not open to discussion. If education, however, enhances oppositional reading, critical thought or textual reflection, students will be encouraged to develop a critical understanding of the past.¹²⁷

1.5 History textbook research

After WWI, through international organizations as The League of Nations, international textbook research became part of academic activity because of the alleged political impact and interest this transfer of information might have and indeed had. Nowadays, textbook research and textbook revision obtained an important position in post conflict areas, as Pingel has stated. In such regions, general educational reforms and reconstruction of curricula or educational systems become the matrix for textbook research.¹²⁸

Stuart Foster has argued that in the history of textbook research one can distinguish two categories or ‘traditions’ which sometimes overlap: the *conciliatory tradition* and the *critical tradition*. The first category attempts to investigate how the past is presented in different countries through history textbook analysis conducted by representatives of

¹²³ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 5, 13.

¹²⁴ Idem, 13-14.

¹²⁵ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 14-25. See for an extensive elaboration of these plotlines in the context of heritage educational resources, De Bruijn, *Bridges to the Past*.

¹²⁶ Lopez et. al., ‘Fostering National Identity, Hindering Historical Understanding’, 214-215.

¹²⁷ Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, 70-71.

¹²⁸ Pingel, ‘Can Truth Be Negotiated?’, 182-183.

different nations, often initiated and organized through international institutions like the Council of Europe or UNESCO. One of the objectives for this can be to 'harmonise the teaching of historical relationships between neighbouring countries, normalise contentious histories, and bring about a rapprochement among former enemies'.¹²⁹ These researchers are interested in the portrayal of different social-economic and ethnic groups in history textbooks. The second category of textbook research relates to 'critical and analytical textbook research often conducted by independent academics or institutions'. This kind of textbook research critically assesses discourses and contents of textbooks in order to question who controls historical knowledge and how this is 'influenced by socio-cultural and ideological forces'. In this category of textbook research, scholars investigate the relationship between textbook content, identities and ideology.¹³⁰ I position my study within to the critical tradition, as distinguished by Foster.

Yet although some researchers have, in either one of the aforementioned categories and through pioneering studies, contributed highly to the scholarly debate,¹³¹ we still do not know much about the ways in which textbooks are developed and produced, how they are conceived and used, nor how they are selected and deployed. Clear guidelines for systematic studies of textbook production are yet to be discussed. Furthermore, a coherent system of methodological principles on textbook research seems to be lacking.¹³² One of the first publications offering a general methodological framework was the 1999 *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research* written by the then Deputy Director of the Georg Eckert Institute Falk Pingel. He stated that quantitative research methods tell us a great deal about what the authors try to emphasize and about selection and selection criteria, but reveal little on values and interpretations.¹³³

Although the way textbooks are used is very much dependent on the teacher, one might assume that textbooks are invaluable sources for research on developments in notions on education and pedagogical culture in certain eras. In this sense, especially history textbooks are tangible translations of the curriculum and underlying educational and social ideals.¹³⁴ We do not know much about in what ways teachers have used textbooks during the last decades, or to what extent teachers have moved away from 'whole class' use of textbooks, especially since the emergence of the new media.¹³⁵ As Haydn has stated, students – according to a recent United Kingdom survey – tend to think of studying (history) from textbooks as one of the 'least enjoyable things to do in class'.¹³⁶ Teachers and students, however, react differently to 'official' texts, and they can reinterpret, readjust or reject (parts of) the content of textbooks. In this sense, Apple and Christian-Smith have referred to 'dominant', 'negotiated' and 'oppositional' readings of texts. Dominant reading implies uncritically accepting the text, where a 'negotiated' reader doubts certain parts of it. In oppositional reading, the text is being criticized or rejected.¹³⁷

¹²⁹ Soysal, 'Identity and Transnationalization', 118.

¹³⁰ Foster, 'Dominant Traditions in International Textbook Research and Revision', 7-10.

¹³¹ Fontaine, *Historisch-didactische cahiers 3: Schoolboekanalyse*; Apple and Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook*; Weinbrenner, 'Methodologies of textbook Analysis'; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research*; Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History*; Nicholls, 'Methods in Textbook Research'; Foster and Crawford, *What Shall We Tell the Children*; Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*; Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon, 'New Trends in History Textbook Research'; Haydn, 'The Changing Form and Use of Textbooks'.

¹³² Nicholls, 'Methods in Textbook Research', 11-13.

¹³³ Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research*, 45.

¹³⁴ Amsing, *Bakens verzetten*, 14.

¹³⁵ De Keyser, 'Schoolboekhistoriografie', 333.

¹³⁶ Haydn, 'The changing form and use of textbooks', 10-11.

¹³⁷ See Apple and Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook*.

Textbook analysis involves more than just content analysis. Researchers have increasingly become aware of problems concerning implicit or explicit relationships between quantitative and qualitative textbook research, relationships between empirical and hermeneutical (interpretative) textbook research, relationships between implicit and explicit content, and relationships between status quo-analyses and deficit analyses.¹³⁸ In this sense, the George Eckert Institute for international textbook research¹³⁹ has strongly stimulated the research. The German based Georg Eckert Institute is since 1974 actively engaged in research on international textbooks and educational media from multi-disciplinary and cultural perspectives (and since 1992 is hosting the *International Textbook Research Network*). It also advises national and international educational organizations. The Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society (JEMMS) explores how social perspectives are mediated through educational media. Various types of texts (in textbooks, museums, memorials or films) are analyzed within their institutional, political, social, economic and cultural contexts. The construction of collective memories as well as various spatial concepts and processes of identity construction (ethnic, national, regional, religious, institutional and gender) are particularly emphasized.¹⁴⁰

Academic research on history education and methods of history teaching does not have a long standing tradition in the Netherlands. The first dissertation on history education by the Nijmegen didactic expert Joop Toebe was published in 1981; since then, not many have followed. Some examples of dissertations that have had significant influence in recent years are Jannet Van Drie's 2005 publication (*Learning about the past with new technologies. Fostering historical reasoning in computer-supported collaborative learning*)¹⁴¹ and Arie Wilschut's thesis *Beelden van tijd; de rol van historisch tijdsbewustzijn bij het leren van geschiedenis*.¹⁴² In 2013 the Rotterdam historian Martijn Kleppe published his dissertation on iconic photographs in history textbooks.¹⁴³ The Center for Historical Culture at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam (CHC), founded in May 2006, established in 2008 an endowed chair 'Historical Culture and Education' (2009-2014 prof.dr. Carla Van Boxtel; 2014- prof.dr. Hester Dibbits). The Center researches the 'construction and transmission of historical knowledge in history and heritage education in the context of a globalizing and multicultural society'.¹⁴⁴ Part of the CHC program is history textbook research, which includes this study and other work. For instance Tina van der Vlies investigates in the frame of a NWO PhD project national narratives in English and Dutch history textbooks.¹⁴⁵ In 2014, the University of Amsterdam also started a professorship in History Education at the Research Institute of Child Development and Education and the Institute of Culture and History. Despite these developments, there are hardly any PhD-theses on research on history education in the Netherlands. Apart from this study, a research project on history textbooks funded by the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) will soon be finalized at the CHC.

¹³⁸ Bourdillon, *History and Social Studies*, 30-31.

¹³⁹ <http://www.gei.de/home.html> (last consulted 26-1-2016).

¹⁴⁰ See <http://journals.berghahnbooks.com/jemms> (last consulted 26-1-2016).

¹⁴¹ Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Utrecht University, available at: <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/dissertations/2005-1220-200137/index.htm>.

¹⁴² Published as *Images of Time: The Role of an Historical Consciousness of Time in Learning History* (Charlotte 2012).

¹⁴³ Kleppe, *Canonieke Icoonfoto's: de rol van (pers)foto's in de Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*. ERMeCC - Erasmus Research Centre for Media, Communication and Culture. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1765/38912> (last consulted 12-1-2017).

¹⁴⁴ <http://www.eshcc.eur.nl/chc/> (last consulted 13-11-2015).

¹⁴⁵ See also Tina van der Vlies, 'Multidirectional war narratives in history textbooks', *Paedagogica Historica* (2016) 300-314.

Abroad, there have been more studies published on the topic. In Germany for example, didactics of history has been an academic discipline since the Weimar Republic; the first dissertation to appear on this topic was Erich Weniger's 1926 study on the 'fundamentals of history education'.¹⁴⁶ After WWII, scholars like Jeismann, Rüsen, Kocka, Pandel, Von Borries, Hasberg, Erdmann and many others pursued the tradition of German history didactics, present at all pedagogical institutions and at some universities.¹⁴⁷

Griffin and Marciano have claimed that 'textbooks offer an obvious means of realising hegemony in education: '... Within history texts...the omission of crucial facts and viewpoints limit profoundly the ways in which students come to view history events'.¹⁴⁸ According to Karl-Peter Fritzsche, 'underlying assumptions' are key notions for textbook research. These are understood as 'deep-seated and one-sided patterns of perception with regards to our awareness of history and politics'. 'Unconscious pre-suppositions', Fritzsche claims, are specific ways of interpreting the world through a certain representation of certain historical facts and phenomena. Sometimes they are patterns of how a society sees itself. This can lead to positive as well as to negative stereotypes.¹⁴⁹ In order to reveal these deeper layers of the textbook, several methods of qualitative textbook analysis have been suggested.¹⁵⁰

One particularly interesting Pan-European framework for the evaluation of textbooks is *Teaching 20th-century European History*, written by historian Robert Stradling in collaboration with the Council of Europe. This book serves as a guide for history teachers, because Stradling believes it is just as important for history teachers to analyze history textbooks as it is for researchers.¹⁵¹ As part of his analytical framework, Stradling offers four methodological categories for evaluating history textbooks. The first category concerns the analysis of the content of the textbook, by looking at the historical coverage, the sequencing of events, the curriculum, space allocation, the application of multiple perspectives, identity contexts and omissions. The second category involves pedagogical values of the textbook: questioning prior knowledge of students, the use of historical concepts, as well as of charts, illustrations and maps. The third category deals with the identification of intrinsic qualities in textbooks, by analyzing authors' biases or reductionisms. Stradling's last set of guidelines entails the identification of extrinsic qualities: the market position of the book, its price, target group and the use of additional materials.¹⁵² More recently, Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon have come up with a 'classical' method of analyzing textbooks that focuses more on didactical aspects of the textbook and includes underlying ideologies, textbook authors, selection of sources and reception by teachers and students.¹⁵³ Foster and Crawford have also offered valuable contributions to the field of textbook research, by focusing on the 'nature and adequacy of the knowledge incorporated in school history textbooks used in ten nations'.¹⁵⁴ In this study I will mainly focus on content analysis as well as on major didactical changes in the textbooks by analyzing the content of relevant sources and assignments.

¹⁴⁶ Erdmann and Hasberg, 'Historical Culture', 299.

¹⁴⁷ Idem, 301-303.

¹⁴⁸ Griffin and Marciano, *Teaching the Vietnam War*, 35.

¹⁴⁹ Fritzsche, 'Prejudice and Underlying Assumptions', 52-59.

¹⁵⁰ See Weinbrenner, 'Methodologies of textbook Analysis'; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research*; Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History*; Furrer, *Die Nation im Schulbuch*; Foster and Crawford, *What Shall We Tell the Children*; Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*.

¹⁵¹ Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History*, 257.

¹⁵² Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History*, 258-263.

¹⁵³ Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon 'New Trends in Textbook Research', 154-155.

¹⁵⁴ Foster and Crawford, *What Shall We Tell the Children*, preface.

The quality of history textbooks is partly determined by the curricula; they serve as intermediary between academic research and history education. Until the 1980s, history curricula in the Netherlands and Germany were mainly lists with topics that had to be conveyed in education, predominantly dealing with western and political history. Another factor that defines textbook standards is the quality of the team of authors. Their ability to move freely is however limited: pedagogical concepts or economic fundamentals of the publishing companies need to be taken into account. Textbooks are said to be commercially more successful when they do not deviate much from the curriculum or school profiles, and incorporate the latest trends and developments with regard to pedagogical approaches. Teachers (and other school representatives) collectively decide whether a textbook is 'user friendly' and therefore suitable for their students: if it complies with the basic content as proscribed by state curricula, as well as with didactical and pedagogical requirements, this is usually the case. This means, according to Raph de Keyser, that the historical quality of the textbook has diminished in favour of its pedagogical and didactical merits; demonstrated by the sharp decrease of the number of academic scholars as part of the teams of textbook authors since the 1970s.¹⁵⁵

The significance of history textbook research

Textbook research is a relatively new (sub)discipline. Researching school textbooks and history curricula partly means studying the ideas of educational institutions on what they want to preserve for generations to come. In this sense, *history* textbooks can be analysed as demonstrations of the historical consciousness of a society. The outlines of national curricula are often set by governments or church authorities; changes in curricula and textbooks represent changes in societies and politics.¹⁵⁶ The history of history teaching through textbook analysis can therefore be important to witness reflections of standards of culture, politics, ideas and values. Furthermore, images of the past in history textbooks may reveal societal or ideological opinions, explicitly or implicitly disclosing current values of society.¹⁵⁷ Nations and other groups tell their historical narratives through the textbooks they produce. Research into the contents and development of history textbooks can therefore contribute to the understanding of how and why ideas and values of societies and social groups have changed over the years.¹⁵⁸ They can be understood as 'social self-portraits', or, what Wolfgang Jacobmeyer has claimed, 'national autobiographies'. In his words: 'Der Weg des Faktums in das Schulbuch führt über das Nadelöhr der Selektion' ('the path of the fact goes through the bottleneck of selection').¹⁵⁹

History textbooks in particular entail the epistemological difficulty that a neutral approach of history does not exist. The theoretical and practical information transmitted through textbooks is socio-cultural knowledge: 'social' refers to the fact that it contains 'shared information' meant for collective groups (all students of a certain age group or level). 'Cultural' here refers to the symbolic nature of the information, expressed in language, text, graphics or illustrations. Because textbooks are used as intermediaries between generations, and function as instruments to integrate young people into a certain social and cultural disposition, they must be seen as pre-eminently normative and selective media.¹⁶⁰ So when textbooks present historical knowledge as objectively factual, they

¹⁵⁵ De Keyser, 'Schoolboekhistoriografie', 336-337.

¹⁵⁶ Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 98-99.

¹⁵⁷ De Keyser, 'Schoolboekhistoriografie', 344-345.

¹⁵⁸ Foster and Crawford, *What Shall We Tell the Children*, 1-2.

¹⁵⁹ Jacobmeyer, 'Das Schulgeschichtsbuch – Gedächtnis der Gesellschaft oder Autobiographie der Nation?', in *Geschichte, Politik und ihre Didaktik* 26 (1998), 30-31; De Baets, *Gebruik en misbruik van de geschiedenis*.

¹⁶⁰ Höhne, *Umriss einer Wissens- und Medientheorie des Schulbuches*, 18-19.

present themselves more as dogmatic instruments of knowledge transfer, rather than as tools for development of democratic citizenship. As a result, one of the most valuable assets of modern education can be undermined: critical thinking.¹⁶¹ During the 1970s, many textbooks changed from books containing 'true' facts on history to exercise books with a large number of sources. The first publications of history didactics manuals (like the West German *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*¹⁶² or the Dutch *Geschiedenis op school in theorie en praktijk*¹⁶³) were significant events in this process, because it opened up new horizons for history teachers (and other educators).

In a rapidly changing world where a plurality of perspectives threatens to subvert the concept of the nation-state, politicians can make use of history education by enforcing (national) cohesion through the canonization of the history curriculum.¹⁶⁴ In this sense, history textbooks function as instruments for socialization and identity construction. But *how* and to *what extent* textbooks can achieve this often remains concealed. In order to find a convincingly formulated 'official' interpretation of the past, textbook authors have to construct a coherent narrative that is accepted by large parts of society as the official perspective of the shared past.

History textbooks reproduce historical information, but with some delay and in a simplified manner. The importance of textbooks therefore lies in the scope of their public; especially after WWII almost every youngster in the western world has been exposed to these institutionalized instruments for the encounter between the past and the present. Competition with other methods of transferring historical knowledge has increased over the years. Many teachers increasingly work with films, graphic novels or internet resources, presenting their students information and perceptions that derive from extra-curricular channels. Until recently, especially until the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is believed that textbooks have remained largely influential with regard to young people's attitudes towards the past or the present.¹⁶⁵ Through changes in the development of mass media, however, Höhne believes that textbooks have begun to lose their status as key medium in education. In a world where news and topical affairs are available at any time, textbooks are increasingly considered to be outdated or anachronistic. Furthermore, upcoming notions like educational differentiation and an *éducation permanente* seem to challenge the traditional leading role of textbooks in education even more.¹⁶⁶

In his analysis of Holocaust narratives in German history textbooks, Swedish historian Pär Frohnert has distinguished an 'existential' use of history textbooks from pedagogical and scholarly uses. Through the pedagogical use of history textbooks, he claims, accepted knowledge about the past is being transmitted. Scholarly inspired textbooks relate academic research with school history. Through existential use of textbooks, Frohnert states, constructions of different levels of identity are being made (e.g. national, local or personal identities). The question he raises is whether textbook authors use or reproduce texts that contain the 'we-address'. If they do so, the textbooks explicitly express German involvement in this tragedy, as well as position younger generations of Germans in the same context. In several textbooks which Frohnert has analyzed, students – through

¹⁶¹ Bourdillon, *History and Social Studies*, 38-39.

¹⁶² Bergmann et. al. (eds.) *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*.

¹⁶³ Dalhuisen, Geurts and Toebe (eds.), *Geschiedenis op school in theorie en praktijk*.

¹⁶⁴ Grever, *Fear of Plurality*, 45-46.

¹⁶⁵ De Keyser, 'Schoolboekhistoriografie', 332-333.

¹⁶⁶ Höhne, *Umriss einer Wissens- und Medientheorie des Schulbuches*, 15-16.

various exercises - were asked to assume the identity of the perpetrators. Sometimes, students are stimulated to interview older relatives on their war experiences.¹⁶⁷

History textbook research and the Holocaust

In a recent analysis of four commonly used textbooks and Holocaust narratives in the United Kingdom, Foster found that these offered poor information on the topic, that they were very much 'Auschwitz-centered' and presented a 'perpetrator-narrative'. Jewish history before and after WWII was neglected, definitions on the Holocaust were confusing, and language and source materials about the Holocaust were problematic and sometimes seemed to acknowledge Nazi perspectives. Many teachers seem to be in want of specific instructions about the content or didactics of this difficult subject, and in many cases the curriculum does not provide them with detailed information. It is therefore not at all surprising, Foster stated, that many of them seemed to rely on textbooks as their main source of information on the Holocaust.¹⁶⁸

In the UK, many textbook authors and teachers often find it difficult to decide what elements of the Holocaust they ought to cover in just two, three or four lessons. This complexity may have spawned two reflexes. Firstly, most textbooks seem to portray the Holocaust through *perpetrator narratives*. That means that teachers primarily teach about the actions undertaken by the Nazis, however, and subsequently consider the Jews and other victims as objects of those actions rather than as subjects of further study. Secondly, teachers and textbooks focus heavily on *Auschwitz-Birkenau* as being the ultimate symbol of the Holocaust. This means that most teachers hardly ever deal with contextualization, Jewish life before and after the war, multiple perspectives, other death camps, the *Einsatzgruppen* or Operation *Reinhard*. In his analysis of four British textbooks, Foster concludes that it is exactly this absence of multiperspectivity and contextualization, as well as the focus on 'perpetrator-narratives' that seem to enhance rather than diminish teachers' difficulties with regard to teaching about the Holocaust in the United Kingdom.¹⁶⁹

In a 2012 (limited sized) analysis of sixteen history textbooks in Berlin, Thomas Sandkühler likewise claims that Auschwitz-Birkenau has become symbolic for the genocide on the European Jews. He also found that the historical image presented in the textbooks is the western perspective on the Holocaust: the events in Eastern Europe do not play a significant part in the image that is presented. Furthermore, 'Holocaust education' has become a way of teaching human rights issues, incorporating students in a 'memory culture', in which they should 'remember' the victims. Critical discussions on the National Socialist crimes, Sandkühler believes, would, however, provide better instruments to deal with these issues.¹⁷⁰

In the Netherlands, research on Holocaust narratives in history textbooks is scarce. It is nevertheless believed that many history textbooks in secondary education address the Holocaust too briefly, insufficiently and often present contradictory information about the topic.¹⁷¹ Many textbooks seem to convey little factual and conceptual knowledge on the Holocaust and instead highlight basic information on the occupation of the Netherlands. As a result, students do not seem to get properly acquainted with the historical context of the Holocaust, which therefore seems to sink into oblivion: according to a Dutch newspaper

¹⁶⁷ Frohnert, "We want to learn from the past", 109-110 and 114.

¹⁶⁸ Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 33-34.

¹⁶⁹ Idem, 14.

¹⁷⁰ Sandkühler, 'Nach Stockholm', 53-55.

¹⁷¹ Van Praag, 'Tijd voor kwaliteit. De Tweede Wereldoorlog in de schoolboeken'; Boersema and Schimmel, 'Choices And Empathetic Capacity'.

survey in this research period, only fifty-five percent of Dutch students could correctly assert that 6,000,000 Jews had been killed during the Holocaust. Most of the remaining students believed that this number could either be 60,000 or 600,000. Some scholars assume that one of the major reasons why Dutch students are lacking basic information and concepts about the Holocaust appears to be the content quality of their history textbooks.¹⁷²

1.6 Sources, methods and design of the study

The primary sources of this study are German and Dutch *history textbooks for secondary education*. But what exactly is a history textbook? Generally speaking, textbooks are books specifically written for use in education to support a course, syllabus or curriculum. They can contain a collection of sources, illustrations, maps, assignments or they can be used as workbooks by students. Although in recent years most textbooks are supported by internet-based support materials, in my research period 1960-2010 they are always physical objects, printed pages bound in covers. The main body of factual knowledge is often the main textbook or 'informationbook'. This book sets out the main information on the subject matter and usually contains the master narrative. In recent years, most of the sources are connected to exercises or assignments in students' workbooks. Usually there is a time-lag between the outcomes of current academic research and the integration of this research into the textbooks.¹⁷³ An important issue in this context is whether publishers, with their own particular economic interests, can and intend to keep up with the 'current state of research'. It generally takes ten to fifteen years to include new historical insights into history textbooks, although through new technological developments and reducing printing costs the time-lag has diminished.¹⁷⁴ Nowadays, with almost every new edition the content of textbooks is changing: regularly substantive amendments and teaching innovations get processed in the textbooks.

This research will mainly be based upon materials students use or have used between 1960 and 2010: main textbooks, exercise books and internet based materials. Whereas in the 1960s, history textbooks were hardbound books with a few maps and illustrations, since the 1990s educational resources became far more diverse than just the original textbooks. They have become hybrid instruments for everyday teaching and learning, often consisting of separate textbooks, exercise books, appendices with primary texts and sources, generally supported by teaching guidelines and internet based materials. In the textbooks, however, authors still present their main narratives.

History textbooks are important instruments in developing a common memory and national identity. But *how* and to *what extent* do textbooks do this? Collective memory goes beyond individual memories, and tries to find a 'true' and original interpretation of the past, a coherent narrative that is accepted by large parts of society as the official perspective on parts of the past. What historians create is an interpretation of the past, not a reality. They are constructing 'truths', bound as they are by theoretical, conceptual and empirical parameters. Writing history textbooks is sometimes equivalent with acting 'ideologically': that is uniting public collective memory with scholarship. This is perhaps

¹⁷² Boersema and Schimmel, 'Choices And Empathetic Capacity', 3.

¹⁷³ Bourdillon, *History and Social Studies*, 21-34.

¹⁷⁴ Idem, 42-45.

most clearly demonstrated in the analysis of history textbooks from new countries in Central and Eastern Europe.¹⁷⁵

For this research I have constructed two sets of samples of (West) German and Dutch history textbooks. A comparison between history textbooks from both countries is rather complex, as many stakeholders are involved in the canonization of 'official knowledge' in two different historical cultures: politicians, scholars, teachers, parents, civil servants, publishers and editors. Because there are different levels of education, there are many history textbooks that differ in content and didactics: throughout Germany currently about one hundred and fifty.¹⁷⁶ All German schoolteachers are academically trained; in the Netherlands the number of academic school teachers is far lower than the number of teachers trained at secondary level teacher training colleges or so-called 'universities of applied sciences'. In 2011, 977 teachers graduated from Dutch universities, compared to 6,064 from teacher training colleges.¹⁷⁷ In Germany, the gap between scholarship and school curricula therefore seems to be relatively narrow. It is worthwhile to research if and to what extent the representations and impacts of academic debates (on the Holocaust) in the Netherlands is different from that in (West) Germany. Furthermore, as Lässig and Pohl have claimed, teachers who undergo shorter or non-academic training rely more on textbooks as their prime instruments of teaching. Textbooks seem to gain more importance under such circumstances.¹⁷⁸

A coherent sample of history textbooks is based on specific criteria for the selection of textbooks. First, I have researched textbooks in both countries that are meant to be used for basically the same age groups and educational levels: HAVO- and VWO-students in the Netherlands (grades four, five and six, students aged fifteen to eighteen years old), and Gymnasium-students in North Rhine-Westphalia (*Sekundarstufe II*, grades eleven, twelve and thirteen, students being roughly of the same age). Second, I have selected Dutch and (West) German history textbooks on the basis of denomination (mainly Dutch textbooks), official acceptance (mainly (West) German textbooks) and the amount of print numbers (so-called long sellers and best sellers). Later versions of textbooks can reflect changes in perspectives and representation of events. To cover a period of fifty years while comparing and analysing textbooks from two countries, some choices have to be made. In the Dutch educational landscape, the compartmentalization ('pillarization') of society that has dominated the Netherlands during a large part of the twentieth century cannot be disregarded.¹⁷⁹ This segregation according to religious or ideological background has been reflected in education, publishing companies and content decisions. But after the 1960s pillarization and therewith the relative influences of denominations and ideological backgrounds of textbook authors or publishing companies decreased. Third, I selected textbooks for the highest levels of secondary education because the density of the content and the complexity of the didactical environment proved to provide most suitable information for my analysis of narrative plotlines on the Holocaust.

In 1972, the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education in the Federal Republic of Germany (KMK) has set common guidelines for the approval of textbooks. In most German states textbooks can be used in public schools after they have formally been approved by the authorities. The German textbooks that are analyzed for this chapter were all formally

¹⁷⁵ Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory*, 7-8.

¹⁷⁶ Lässig and Pohl, 'History textbooks and Historical Scholarship', 125-126.

¹⁷⁷ These digits refer to the total number of graduates in teacher training for all school subjects. See: www.stamos.nl/index.rfx?verb=showitem&item=9.32 (last consulted 12-1-2017).

¹⁷⁸ Lässig and Pohl, 'History textbooks and Historical Scholarship', 125-126.

¹⁷⁹ See for more Lijphart, *The Politics of Accommodation*.

accepted in North Rhine Westphalia through official admittance by the *Kultusministerium* of the state. Some materials, like atlases, bibles or dictionaries are more generally accepted and therefore not subjected to official (political) screening. In recent years the accepted schoolbooks for each subject are published on the ministry's Internet-site, but previously the so-called *Zulassungslisten* ('authorized lists') were issued in print by the ministry. The textbooks have all been published by larger publishing companies, all based outside of North Rhine Westphalia and so providing these books to other states as well. In 2010 six publishing companies were accepted for *Gymnasium Sekundarstufe II*: Buchners Verlag, Ernst Klett, Bildungshaus Schöningh, Bildungshaus Schroeder, Bildungshaus Westermann and Cornelsen (although with different editions and books).¹⁸⁰ The Bildungshaus Westermann has incorporated the Schroeder and Schöningh publishing companies in 2007.¹⁸¹ The Hirschgraben Verlag has been taken over by Cornelsen in the 1980s.¹⁸²

The procedures for approving textbooks in North Rhine-Westphalia are fully documented on the website of the *Kultusministerium* of North Rhine-Westphalia.¹⁸³ For the upper grades of Gymnasium, history textbooks have to be submitted in a formal 'approval procedure' (*Gutachterverfahren*). During this procedure, publishers have to submit manuscripts of the new or the renewed textbooks to the ministry corresponding with the planned original. The whole procedure can take up to four months.¹⁸⁴ During my whole research period (1960-2010), textbooks and other teaching materials had to represent both the official (West) German guidelines and curricula and the latest academic findings.

Furthermore, they should 'encourage individual learning possibilities for children and enhance modern approaches' to learning and teaching as well as gender equality. In addition, costs effects are taken into consideration by the ministry. In general, history textbooks have to be submitted to the ministry one year before the planned release date. Based on the criteria mentioned above, didactical and academic professionals then checks whether the textbook is suitable for use in the state.¹⁸⁵ The list of history textbooks that were approved for North Rhine Westphalia between 1960 and 2010 has been enclosed as appendix 3.

In the Dutch education system, teachers were and are essentially free to decide what history textbooks they will use. Textbooks are chosen collectively per school. State regulations only provide what historical topics should be covered in class, or in the textbooks. In this case: 'Racism and discrimination that lead to genocide, especially on the

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www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/Schulsystem/Unterricht/Lernmittel/Gymnasiale_Oberstufe/index.html (last consulted 8-2-2016).

¹⁸¹ www.westermann-druck.de/de/firmengruppe.php (last consulted 8-2-2016).

¹⁸² www.cornelsen.de/service/1.c.2573489.de (last consulted 8-2-2016).

¹⁸³ www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/Schulsystem/Medien/Lernmittel/index.html and www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/Schulsystem/Medien/Lernmittel/Kontext/Zulassung.pdf (last consulted 28-1-2016).

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www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/Schulsystem/Medien/Lernmittel/Kontext/Verlagshinweise/index.html (last consulted 18-11-2016).

¹⁸⁵ Nowadays, many German states are changing their policies of *Schulbuchzulassung*. The federal state of Berlin for instance has abolished the approval procedures with the *Berliner Schulgesetz* of January 2004. In Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein the procedures have likewise changed; since 2009 the recommendation lists are no longer necessary or published. In Saarland the responsibility of choosing the right text books lies with the school management. In several German states (some) teaching materials for the *Sekundarstufe II* are exempted from the authorization procedures (www.edumeres.net/informationen/literaturrecherche/gei-dzs/besonderheiten-einzeln-bundeslaender.html) (last consulted 16-1-2016).

Jews'.¹⁸⁶ But there are no teaching guidelines as to *how* or to *what extent*. So there is no national Holocaust curriculum which can furnish textbook authors with their interpretations. This leaves room for other spheres of influence.

The analytical instrument of my research consists of the application of both quantitative and qualitative methods. As Foster and Crawford have indicated in 2006, some flaws in methodological approaches in textbook research still exist. First of all, much textbook research has been focusing on quantitative data, neglecting qualitative means of analysis. Secondly, we do not know exactly who selects textbook knowledge. There is little information on the relationship between different interest groups, or the ideological, political, social, economic or historical backgrounds they possess. Thirdly, little is known about the process of selecting historical knowledge and declaring it or legitimizing it into 'official knowledge' suitable for history textbooks. Texts both include and exclude certain information, hence highlighting or ignoring the history of specific groups.¹⁸⁷ According to Stradling, the 'better' history textbooks are books that include social and cultural history as well as political history. 'Better' textbooks offer multiple perspectives and are consistent with the latest historiographical findings. From this point of view, plurality is better than mono-causal interpretations, and international approaches are better than nationalistic ones.¹⁸⁸

The quantitative analysis of textbooks in my study focuses on (the relationships between) spatial and temporal characteristics of the textbook. By doing so, I have looked at the number of pages dedicated to a topic, the use of language, words, dates, names and terminology, the inclusion of pictures, photos, graphics and other illustrations, the use of primary texts, the alphabet/icon ratio, and functions of the 'paratext' (layout, illustrations, colors, titles, and blanks). This kind of quantitative methods may prove to be useful in clarifying broad changes in textbook developments.

With the qualitative analysis I will show much more of the in-depth aspects of the textbook. Since textbooks are considered to be cultural artefacts and social constructions that reveal information on the current ideologies, politics and culture of certain powerful groups in societies (or the outcome of their competitions), researchers sometimes have to 'dig deep' to find narrative structures, assets of historical culture or collective memory in textbooks. I have therefore focused mainly on the analysis of plotlines, and to some extent on the relationship between text and images, intertextuality, hidden messages and voices, agency-structure, and the concept of distance versus engagement.¹⁸⁹ Returning to Zerubavel's classification of plotlines, I expect to find that textbooks in dealing with the Holocaust and WWII mainly use 'progressive plotlines', looking back on an inferior past that is never to be repeated again. Both in the textbooks from the country of perpetrators, as well as in the textbooks from the country that has been victim to occupation, I expect to find a stress on postwar discontinuity and incorporation of some notion of 'progress'. Furthermore, it will be interesting to find out whether or not the focalization in emplotment changes with shifting perspectives or agency. The question occurs if there will be more emotional engagement present in victim narratives, as compared to more distancing in perpetrator stories.

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www.slo.nl/downloads/2008/http_www.slo.nl_voortgezet_tweedefase_themas_Geschiedenis_Leerplan_geschiedenis_tweede_fase.pdf/ (last consulted 9 January 2016).

¹⁸⁷ Foster and Crawford, *What Shall We Tell the Children*, 12-13.

¹⁸⁸ Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History*.

¹⁸⁹ De Keyser, 'Schoolboekhistoriografie', 341; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, 45; Nicholls, 'Methods in Textbook Research', 14-15.

Hence my research method concentrates on several major issues: general textbook information, historical actors, events and processes, temporal and geographical scopes, contextualization and explanation, quantitative information and didactical aspects, linguistic aspects of the plotlines, and perpetrator, bystander and victim narratives in the textbooks. See appendix 2 for my analytical framework.

Most textbooks are part of two major collections: the *Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung* (GEI) in Braunschweig, offering an almost complete overview of German (and international) textbooks published during the twentieth century (and before), and the historic-didactical collection of the Center for Historical Culture hosted by Erasmus University library in Rotterdam which has a considerable amount of Dutch history textbooks relevant for the research period 1960-2010. Secondary literature on history textbooks has guided me to make choices in this collection (see chapters 4 and 5). All texts quoted from the German and Dutch textbooks are translated into English by me.

In the following, second chapter I will outline historical and historiographical discussions on WWII and the Holocaust, mainly in (West) Germany and the Netherlands. Developments in historiography as in collective memories in (West) Germany and the Netherlands, as well as portrayals of the Holocaust in popular historical culture will be closely examined. I shall describe how and why Jewish victimhood has emerged as the defining narrative in memory culture and what this has meant for representations of the Holocaust in (West) German and Dutch textbooks.

In chapter three, I will outline main aspects of (West) German and Dutch education systems since 1945. By looking at curricula and pedagogical developments, at didactics and the educational infrastructure, as well as at developments in history education in both countries, postwar national education politics (West) Germany and the Netherlands will be described. Especially the 'emergence' of contemporary history in the national curricula of both countries is important within the context of this analysis of Holocaust narratives in textbooks.

The outcome of the empirical analysis of West German and Dutch history textbooks since the 1960s will be presented in two chapters, corresponding with the two research periods 1960-1980 and 1980-2010: chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation. As I have explained in this chapter, I have chosen the year 1980 because it represents a change in public interest in the Holocaust, partly through a hausse of Holocaust publications and the broadcast of the NBC miniseries *Holocaust* in 1978/1979. The textbooks and their main authors will be presented briefly. Then, continuities and changes in Holocaust narratives in the textbooks will be examined and discussed for a comparative perspective.

In the last chapter I will summarize the findings of my research and synthesize various elements of the topics discussed in the previous chapters. I will also reflect upon the academic repercussions of these results.

2 World War Two and the Holocaust: German and Dutch Perspectives

In 2011, American historian and memory expert Jay Winter, claimed that the ‘delayed but unmistakable arrival of the Holocaust’ in collective memory during the 1950s and 1960s changed western moral thinking about the past, present and future. According to Winter, the story of this genocide was previously excluded from public memory, because postwar politicians needed a ‘story of resistance’ to revive their political cultures as well as ‘the European project’ after WWII. With the arrival of new generations of politicians and historians, the vast consequences of dealing with the Holocaust could at last be faced. An increasing attention for various victims of the war (not exclusively the victims of the Holocaust), the Holocaust and human rights in general became the central framework of reference for the public reconfiguration of narratives of the recent past, especially in Western Europe from the 1970s onwards.¹⁹⁰

In this chapter, I will outline how the status of the Holocaust has changed in postwar discussions in Europe and elsewhere. The aim of this chapter is to present a necessary historical and historiographical background for the analysis of how German and Dutch history textbooks have dealt with the facts and contextualization of the Holocaust. First, I will discuss problems in defining the historical events generally referred to as ‘WWII’ and the ‘Holocaust’. In §2.2, I will present a synthesis of the changing dimensions of collective memory in the context of the Holocaust and of the main debates in historiography and Holocaust research in (West) Germany and the Netherlands after the war until the 1980s. In §2.3, the growing diversification and influences of popular culture on collective memory and Holocaust research will be discussed. These developments started after the broadcast of an American drama series called *Holocaust* (aired on national television in both countries in 1979). Finally, I will briefly discuss more recent results of Holocaust research.

2.1 A short overview of the dramatic events

The Holocaust is a phenomenon various historians have tried to describe and explain. In the course of time, there have been serious and seething debates, controversies, rejections and acknowledgements of theories on the Holocaust. Until now, even the term ‘Holocaust’ is controversial. In this paragraph, I will first give a brief overview of attempts to define ‘the Holocaust’ (including debates on the terminology) and subsequently I will comment upon a number of historical and historiographical controversies that reflect the complexity of the issue. As I explained in chapter 1, I will - for the sake of my analysis of Holocaust narratives in textbooks - use a broad definition of the topic, spanning the period from the beginning of repression and persecutions of a variety of ‘opponents’ shortly after the Nazi assumption of power in January 1933, until the end of Nazism and the European dimension of WWII in May 1945. This definition neither does justice to the complexity of the Holocaust, nor to the victims of this

¹⁹⁰ Winter, *War Cemeteries and the Future of Europe*.

genocide or to the general academic debate. It is, however, as I will explain later in this chapter, within the context of this research the most workable definition.

At first sight it seems rather straightforward to define the Holocaust. Most scholars would argue that the Holocaust was the systematically attempted genocide on European Jewry. In this definition, the Holocaust was the systematic and industrially conducted mass murder of European Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators during WWII. This narrow definition confines (some might even say 'reduces') victimhood of the Holocaust to the Jews and is therefore contested among some scholars. As we know, the Nazis also persecuted criminals, homosexuals, political opponents, the disabled, Jehovah's Witnesses and other religious groups or individuals, dissidents, Roma and Sinti, Freemasons, immigrants, Poles, Soviet prisoners of war and African Germans, although persecutions of these groups did not always lead to mass murder.¹⁹¹ The problem is therefore whether one should include all these victims within the context of what we call 'the Holocaust', or if it would be more appropriate to restrict the notion to the 'essential' Jewish appeal. Those who adhere to the narrower definition of the Holocaust, such as the prominent Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer, of course do not deny the immeasurable suffering of these other victim groups. Bauer (and others),¹⁹² however, believe that the Nazi attempt to exterminate European Jewry was different due to **motivation** (the perpetrators were 'religiously' motivated by a national and racial ideology to annihilate a distinct group of people like the Jews, which opened the door to 'salvation', as described through Saul Friedländer's notion of 'redemptive antisemitism'),¹⁹³ **intent** (Nazis attempted to eradicate all Jews) and **scale** (no other group of victims experienced a higher percentage of casualties).

Nazi ideology was essentially antisemitic. Jews were specifically and solely mentioned at the Wannsee Conference in January 1942 where prominent Nazis tried to coordinate and solve the so-called 'Jewish Problem'. According to this viewpoint, the history of other victim groups should therefore be described and understood within the wider context of the Third Reich, but not as part of the Holocaust.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, Bauer claims that political and religious (mass) murder is to be excluded from the definition of genocide. Persecutions of communists, socialists or religious groups in Nazi Germany were 'conditional' and could result in successful re-education (which indeed occasionally has occurred). Bauer prefers to call this *politicide*, the attempted annihilation of political groups.¹⁹⁵ Poles, Roma, Sinti, Russians, mentally and physically handicapped people and Jews, however, could not change their identity and were therefore not able to escape persecutions.¹⁹⁶ This doesn't mean that – in terms of victimhood and the Holocaust – Bauer equates Roma and Sinti, mentally and physically handicapped people, Russians or Poles with the Jews. All of these groupings were collectively murdered, but belong to one or more different categories than the Jews. Although 'Gypsies' were also persecuted for racial reasons, and about 220,000 to

¹⁹¹ See Snyder, *Bloedlanden* (Dutch translation), and <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005149> (last consulted 25-5-2015).

¹⁹² See Niewyk and Nicosia, *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust*, 45-47.

¹⁹³ See Bauer, 'The Impact of the Holocaust', 14-22. Saul Friedländer published [Nazi Germany and the Jews, Volume I: Years of Persecution, 1933-1939](#) in 1997. Volume II covers the years between 1939-1945.

¹⁹⁴ Niewyk and Nicosia, *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust*, 46.

¹⁹⁵ Bauer, 'Holocaust and Genocide Today', 3.

¹⁹⁶ Idem, 19.

500,000 of them were murdered,¹⁹⁷ they were not treated as a homogeneous group by the Nazis. In Germany, the so-called 'pure Gypsies' were spared, whereas the Gypsies of presumably mixed racial origins (*Mischlinge*) were considered as inferior and therefore killed. In occupied Europe, only nomadic Gypsies were systematically killed. Disabled Germans were also killed for racial reasons – hundreds of thousands of handicapped people were forced to undergo the T-4 euthanasia program between 1939 and 1941 – but the Nazis stopped the mass murder after protests from within the German population and churches.¹⁹⁸ According to Bauer, this change of policy never occurred with regard to the persecution of the Jews. Finally, Russian prisoners of war and Polish and Russian civilians were also persecuted for racial reasons. More than 3,000,000 Soviet prisoners of war were either shot or gassed or died because of hardship in the camps. Three million non-Jewish Polish citizens (ten percent of the population) and millions of Soviet citizens were likewise murdered. In Nazi ideology, Poles, as well as other Slavonic and so-called Asiatic peoples of the Soviet Union were considered as racially inferior. Most of the victims belonged to the political, intellectual and cultural elites of Poland and the Soviet Union. German forces murdered tens of thousands of Polish intellectuals and Catholic priests in an operation known as *Außerordentliche Befriedungsaktion* ('Extraordinary Counterinsurgency'). The *Kommissarbefehl* ('Commissioner's Order'), issued on 6 June 1941, meant the instruction to kill representatives of the Soviet state and Party. But although the suffering of these people is acknowledged, proponents of an exclusive Judaic-oriented definition of the Holocaust would place these victim groups in a different category because of the lack of systematic persecution. The Nazis did not execute a large-scale plan to liquidate all Slavs; in countries like Croatia or Slovenia e.g., the Slavic population survived because they did not interfere with the Nazi *Lebensraum* plans.¹⁹⁹

The American sociologist Rudolph Rummel has pointed out that during the twentieth century (up to 1987, to be exact), some 150-170 million people were murdered by governments or administrative institutions. Rummel has coined a term for this occurrence: *democide*.²⁰⁰ In his (and Yehuda Bauer's) view, *genocide* – as an attempt to annihilate an entire people, nation or ethnic group – is a part of *democide*. The Holocaust, accordingly, was 'a unique example of a genocide'.²⁰¹

There are basically three terms that have been used for the mass murders committed by Nazi perpetrators between 1933 and 1945. Nowadays, the most commonly used term is *Holocaust*. This word originates from the Greek translation of the Hebrew word קָרְבָּן עֹלָה, or *korban olah*, referring to a form of sacrifice or burnt offering.²⁰² Since the 1980s, the term has been used as a general term for the crimes and horrors perpetrated by the Nazis. In recent years, the term refers to other acts of mass murder as well as more general infernos or assumed cataclysms. Examples are the 'Armenian Holocaust', an

¹⁹⁷ See Bársony and Daróczi (eds.), *Pharrajimos. The Fate of the Roma during the Holocaust* and <https://www.ushmm.org/learn/students/learning-materials-and-resources/sinti-and-roma-victims-of-the-nazi-era/introduction> (last consulted 1-3-2016).

¹⁹⁸ Niewyk and Nicosia, *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust*, 48.

¹⁹⁹ Idem, 50.

²⁰⁰ Rummel, *Democide, Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder*.

²⁰¹ Bauer, 'The Impact of the Holocaust', 19.

²⁰² Niewyk and Nicosia, *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust*, 45.

'Inflation Holocaust', 'the Holocaust of liberalized abortion'²⁰³ and the 'Black Holocaust'.²⁰⁴ "Whatever mishap occurs now, they call it 'holocaust,'" according to Elie Wiesel, observing how "a commentator describing the defeat of a sports team, somewhere, called it a holocaust."²⁰⁵ Interestingly enough, German public television network ZDF broadcast a documentary on the Final Solution in 2000 called *Holokaust*, using German spelling instead of the common *Holocaust*. By using the German name the producers intended to underline the fact that this documentary was about an episode of the greatest importance in recent German history. Their opponents had a different interpretation: the German spelling of the word *Holokaust* seemed to reverberate with German intellectual 'ownership' of the research into the Final Solution.²⁰⁶

Most Jewish organizations - most notably the Israeli Holocaust remembrance authority Yad Vashem World Center for Holocaust Research, Documentation, Education and Commemoration - as well as most French speaking countries, favor the biblical word *Shoah* (which describes the notion of *destruction* or *catastrophe* since the Middle Ages) as the standard term for the murder of European Jewry. In Israel, the word *Shoah* was institutionalized by the Knesset in 1951.²⁰⁷

More orthodox Jews prefer to use the term *khurbn* or *churban* ('destruction') or *gezerot tash-tashah* ('the decrees of 1939-1945') (employed in ultra-orthodox communities). *Churban* is preferable for many Jews because it reminds of the destructions of the Temples, placing Jewish suffering not only in a historical context, but also in a 'pattern of Jewish history throughout the ages... Destruction-Exile-Redemption'. From the viewpoints of these communities, the words *Shoah* or *Holocaust* imply an unjustified 'isolated catastrophe unrelated to anything before or after it'. Instead, *Churban* stresses the unbroken and consistent existence of catastrophes in Jewish history.²⁰⁸

Some believe the term *Holocaust* is undesirable because the original meaning of the word (religious sacrifice by means of incineration) is said to provide Jewish suffering with a Christian coating. The word *Shoah* would therefore be more appropriate, because it is Jewish, victim-oriented and secular. American historian Peter Novick, however, states that the word 'Holocaust' - in relation to the assassination of European Jewry - originates from Israel. In the 1948 Israeli Declaration of Independence, the English translation of the *Nazi Shoah* was *Nazi Holocaust*. Early Yad Vashem publications use the word 'Holocaust' as well. Through the Eichmann-trial, many journalists became familiar with the Israeli term 'Holocaust'; by the end of the 1960s it had become widespread in the western world.²⁰⁹

There has been some semantic discussion, too, about the seemingly insignificant matter of the spelling of the word 'anti-Semitism' in English. Most encyclopaedias and

²⁰³ Used in 2007 by presidential candidate and former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee (<http://archive.adl.org/nr/exeres/f934cef1-dfa0-4729-8020-63ba3b8c1cca.0b1623ca-d5a4-465d-a369-df6e8679cd9e.frameless.html>). (last consulted 13-6-2015).

²⁰⁴ See e.g. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization (Cultural Memory in the Present)* (Stanford 2009) or 'America's Black Holocaust Museum' (<http://abhmuseum.org/>) (last consulted 20-10-2015).

²⁰⁵ <http://ivarfeld.com/2010/07/05/widespread-dangerous-misuse-of-the-word-holocaust/> (last consulted 13-6-2015).

²⁰⁶ Kansteiner, 'Entertaining Catastrophe', 135-136.

²⁰⁷ The Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day, celebrated in Israel in April or May each year, is known as *Yom HaShoah*, commemorating the Jewish victims of the Holocaust as well as the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. See Setbon, "Who beat my father?".

²⁰⁸ Setbon, "Who beat my father?", 9-10.

²⁰⁹ Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 133-134.

spellcheckers (such as Microsoft) represent the word with a hyphen, and auto-corrections also reject the – correct - spelling of ‘antisemitism’. If one uses the hyphenated version, one considers the word ‘Semitic’ as a reference to a single entity like a group of people. This term is incorrect because it originally designated language groups, not ‘races’ or ‘nations’. That is why the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance is trying to change the Microsoft spellchecker in this context. The Nazi past thus has long shadows: by capitalizing and hyphenating the word, one still views Jews as a race. The word ‘anti-Semitism’ epitomizes the exact mechanisms of exclusion that constitute the core problem of racism and discrimination.²¹⁰

By and large, one can come up with at least three definitions of the Holocaust, all of which deserve a much more thorough consideration than I can give here. First, there is the narrower interpretation of confining the Holocaust to the mass murder of European Jewry only. This view is commonly associated with the perception of the uniqueness of the Holocaust. The twentieth century is sometimes called ‘a century of genocide’, referring to Eric Weitz’ 2003 publication of the same name.²¹¹ The term ‘genocide’ is coined in 1944 by the Polish legal expert Raphael Lemkin.²¹² Lemkin created the term by combining the Greek word ‘genos’ (people or nation) with the Latin suffix ‘cide’, meaning ‘killing’. Lemkin defined ‘genocide’ as “the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group ... intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group”.²¹³ In many cases, the Holocaust is examined in the broader context of other genocides.

In this equation, however, some scholars believe that one tends to overlook the unique elements of the Holocaust. A UNESCO brochure on Holocaust Education (2013) describes the Holocaust as a ‘defining event in human history’, containing characteristics ‘that appear in other genocides ... but it also contains elements that cannot be found prior to its occurrence’. According to UNESCO, the Nazis killed European Jews for mere ‘pragmatic’ reasons, which makes the Holocaust a unique event in history.²¹⁴ Yehuda Bauer has called the Holocaust ‘a genocide without precedent’, but not unique: by stressing the uniqueness of the event, Bauer claims, one presumes that it cannot happen again (so why deal with it extensively?) and it also presupposes some metaphysical driving force behind it which can lead to diminishing the responsibility of the (human) perpetrators.²¹⁵

Yet Bauer continues to refer to certain elements in the genocide of the Jews which were without precedent in human history: every single Jew was destined to be killed, the genocide was universal and took place everywhere, the genocide was ideologically based, aimed at a new racial hierarchy in society, leaving no room for Jews. Finally, the Nazis wanted to destroy the roots of European and Christian civilization, Jews being at the heart of it.²¹⁶ As Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel has put it: ‘Not all victims were Jewish, but all Jews were victims’.²¹⁷

²¹⁰ See note 21 in Foster, *Selection, Limitation and Challenge*, 15-16.

²¹¹ Weitz, *A Century of Genocide*.

²¹² Lemkin and Power, *Axis Rule In Occupied Europe*.

²¹³ Idem, 80.

²¹⁴ unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002186/218631E.pdf (last consulted 22-6-2015), 7.

²¹⁵ Bauer, ‘Holocaust and Genocide Today’, 4-5.

²¹⁶ Idem, 6-10.

The second definition of the Holocaust includes other victim groups that have also been persecuted because of racial reasons: Sinti, Roma, handicapped and Soviet prisoners of war. All of these people were non-selectively persecuted for reasons of belonging to a specifically designated group, defined by Nazi ideology as such.²¹⁸

A third definition – as brought forward by Donald Niewyk and Francis Nicosia in 2000 – assumes there were several separate Holocausts, each for a distinct victim group with their own particular characters. Subsequently we might speak e.g. of a Jewish Holocaust, Sinti and Roma Holocaust, Homosexual Holocaust or the Polish Holocaust. This of course can lead to much semantic or scholarly confusion, and might more explicitly lead to that aspect which most people would want to avoid: a competition in suffering.²¹⁹

Defining the Holocaust also means setting spatial and temporal boundaries. Considering the aforementioned definition discussions, it is not surprising that the question about the actual beginning of the Holocaust is also very much contested. An increasing complexity in this context arose in 2010 when the American historian Timothy D. Snyder published *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. This book examines crimes committed by the regimes of Stalin and Hitler between 1933 and 1945 in the 'bloodlands', a region in Eastern Europe which nowadays covers parts of Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and the Baltic states. An estimated fourteen million civilians were killed there, the majority of whom were murdered outside of the concentration and death camps. Snyder asserts that there were basically two perpetrator groups: the Nazis and the Soviet regime, and that there have been more non-military victims than hitherto accepted. He estimates that of the fourteen million victims, the Nazis killed about ten million people.²²⁰ The victims that Snyder distinguishes were Ukrainians, who suffered from the so-called *Holodomor* (the 1933 Soviet-forced famine in Ukraine)²²¹, ethnic Poles that were killed before 1939, Polish intellectuals, 4.2 million victims of the German Hunger Plan in the Soviet Union (Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians), 3.1 million Soviet prisoners of war and 1.0 million civilian deaths in the Siege of Leningrad, 5.4 million Jewish victims during the Holocaust, and 700,000 civilians, mostly Belarusians and Poles, shot by the Germans 'in reprisals' during the occupation of Belarus by Nazi Germany and the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. Snyder claims that during the war, the Nazis approximately killed as many Jews as non-Jews.²²² The term Holocaust, he states, is used either for all German murder policies during the war, or for all Nazi persecutions of the Jews. Either way, when international awareness of the Holocaust increased during the 1970s, it was mainly based on the recollections of a small group of western survivors. 'Auschwitz', where a 'mere' one-sixth of all Jews had been murdered, became the ultimate symbol of the Holocaust. By doing so, 'historians and commentators in the United States and Europe ignored the almost five million Jews

²¹⁷ http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/pavilion_auschwitz/wiesel.asp (last consulted 25-5-15).

²¹⁸ Some scholars have indicated that Soviet prisoners of war suffered such enormous numbers of deaths because they were treated differently than other Allied prisoners. Russians were considered to be racially inferior and were furthermore threatening German colonization policies in Eastern Europe. See Niewyk and Nicosia, *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust*, 49 and Hirschfeld (ed.), *The Policies of Genocide. Jews and Soviet Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany*, 15-30.

²¹⁹ Niewyk and Nicosia, *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust*, 51.

²²⁰ Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 524.

²²¹ The 'Holodomor' refers to the famine (allegedly caused by the Soviet Union) in the Soviet Republic of Ukraine in 1932 and 1933, causing a number of deaths between 2.5 and 3.9 million (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-25058256>) (last consulted 18-11-2016).

²²² Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 10-13.

who were killed by the Nazis east of Auschwitz as well as the almost five million of their other victims'.²²³ In addition, Snyder has added another dimension to the terminology debate in stating that a distinction should be made between *Endlösung* and *Holocaust*. The first notion was used by the Nazis to describe their intention to repress and exterminate all Jews in Europe. The latter was introduced after the war to label – in Snyder's definition – the last version of the *Endlösung* by murdering all Jews. In 'Bloodlands', the Holocaust therefore begins in July 1941, when the Nazis started to kill Jewish civilians in occupied zones in the Soviet Union.²²⁴

In Michman's account of (the limited number of) comprehensive academic studies on the Holocaust until 1995, important differences appear in this respect. Michman has studied the seven best known publications on the Holocaust. What they have in common is that all of these scholars were Jews and none of these historians accepted the public view that the Holocaust was a Nazi genocidal undertaking aimed against the Jews in Europe. In their views, the Holocaust started long before the actual exterminations, which was seen as the final stage of anti-Jewish Nazi policy. Another corresponding fact is that they disagree on definitions and therefore the outset of the Holocaust. To give some examples: Poliakov (Holocaust began in 1935 with the Nuremberg Laws), Reitlinger (the Holocaust began 1939), Hilberg (referred to a bureaucratic process that lead from emigration (1933-1940) to annihilation (1940-1945)), Tenenbaum (Nazi racial policy originates from the nineteenth century), Levin and Dawidowicz (the Holocaust originates from the eighteenth century), Eck, Bauer-Keren and Yahil (the Holocaust begins in 1932 when more than fifty percent of the Germans voted for non-democratic parties), Mayer (he uses the term 'Judeocide' which he believes is the outcome of an European crisis dating back to the Russian Revolution).²²⁵

Since the 1990s, references to the Holocaust as well as its geographical scope seem to have changed. With this, the perception of the murderous 'implementation' of the Holocaust changed as well. Where early academic studies traced the origins of the Holocaust back to long existing antisemitism or the early Nazi years, more recent publications seem to push the Holocaust forward in time, debating whether the critical moment was June 1941, September 1941 (murder of Ukrainian Jews), December 1941 (start of the gassing of Jews from Łódź in Chelmno) or January 1942 (Wannsee Conference). German historian Peter Longerich even states that it was not until the summer of 1942 that the mass murder of the Jews began.²²⁶ Accordingly, the geographical attention slowly moved from Berlin and Western Europe as the centers of planning and execution towards the East: Poland, the Baltic States, Ukraine and Belarus. This is where the Holocaust happened, and the increased access to Soviet and other Eastern European archives after 1989 certainly helped to excavate this formerly inaccessible part of the Holocaust territory. Another reason for this geographical shift may be the fact that until the 1990s, hardly any research was done into the exact course of the Holocaust, what exactly had happened where, and who the perpetrators were. More recent publications by Browning (1992), Goldhagen (1996), Friedländer (1997 and 2007), Welzer (2005) and Snyder (2010) deal more extensively with the mass murders in Eastern Europe, shifting the focus of attention from a relatively limited

²²³ Snyder, *Bloedlanden*, 480-481.

²²⁴ Idem, 524-525.

²²⁵ Michman, "'The Holocaust' in the Eyes of Historians", 233-253.

²²⁶ See Longerich, *Holocaust. The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*.

number of extermination camps to the many execution sites further east.²²⁷ This of course has triggered another dynamic process in defining and describing the Holocaust. The general image of the systematic, bureaucratic and industrial character of mass murder in extermination camps like Auschwitz or Sobibór has been adjusted: nowadays historians stress the mass shootings and massacres in various regions in Belarus, Ukraine or Lithuania, performed by 'ordinary men' who were trained as soldiers or policemen.²²⁸ This 'definition expansion' causes a lot of concerns for historians, educators and other professionals: it has been demonstrated that Holocaust protagonists – hitherto statically designated as 'perpetrators, victims and bystanders', a division originally made by Hilberg in 1961²²⁹ - were in fact actors that played dynamic and changing roles during the years of the Holocaust and whose societal attitudes were very often liable to repositioning during the variety of events between 1941 and 1945 (and even afterwards). Furthermore, new controversies emerge in this context, such as the alleged confluence of Stalinist and Nazi crimes, as well as the tendency to study protagonists of the Holocaust from a more sociological point of view, embedding them in the social contexts of their societies (see §2.2 on Holocaust research).²³⁰

As stated above, within the context of my research into Holocaust narratives in history textbooks, I will apply a broad conceptual framework with regard to the crimes committed by Nazis and their accomplices, mainly for pragmatic reasons. Most scholars do not or only remotely distinguish the notion of *Endlösung* from *Holocaust*. Initially, the Nazis used the term *Endlösung* for the planned deportation of the European Jews, but in the latter half of 1941 it became a synonym for mass murder. 'Holocaust' was introduced after the war as the term that describes the genocidal actions undertaken against the Jews, or, as Snyder mentions, the last version of the *Endlösung*.²³¹

In this study, the term 'Holocaust' means a reference to all discriminatory and racist measures and murderous undertakings by the Nazis against European Jews and other victim groups between 1933 and 1945. The main reason for this is that most textbooks connect the history of the persecutions between 1933 and 1941 with those between 1941 and 1945, and that they usually do not or only vaguely distinguish between Nazi crimes against the Jews and atrocities against other victim groups. As in Holocaust historiography, the interrelation between different victim groups is hardly analyzed.²³² In legal investigations after WWII as well, Hitler's totalitarian regime in all its appearances was considered – by postwar contemporaries - to be guilty of the murder of millions of people, without much further differentiation.

Immediately after the war, major war criminals were tried before the International Military Tribunal (IMT), which took place in Nuremberg, Germany. Between October 18, 1945, and October 1, 1946, the IMT tried twenty-two leading Nazis 'on charges of crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity,²³³ and

²²⁷ Browning, *Ordinary Men*; Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*; Friedländer *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution 1933–1939 and The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews 1939–1945*; Welzer, *Daders. Hoe heel normale mensen massamoordenaars worden*.

²²⁸ Bajohr and Löw (eds.), *Der Holocaust. Ergebnisse und Neue Fragen der Forschung*, 14–15.

²²⁹ Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*.

²³⁰ Bajohr and Löw (eds.), *Der Holocaust. Ergebnisse und Neue Fragen der Forschung*, 10–12.

²³¹ Snyder, *Bloedlanden*, 524–525.

²³² Pohl, 'Der Holocaust und die anderen NS-Verbrechen', 125.

²³³ The legal problem with defining the persecution and mass murder of Jews in terms of 'racial murder' was that the traditional concept of 'war crimes' did not stipulate crimes that were committed by states or governments on its own citizens. Therefore, the new category 'crimes against humanity' was designed to incorporate those crimes which were not covered by previous provisions in international law (see Overy, *De Verhoren*, 67–74).

conspiracy to commit such crimes'. These 'crimes against humanity' were defined as 'murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation ... or persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds'. Nationality of the victim was considered to be the prime criterion in defining the victims, not their ethnic, religious or cultural orientation.²³⁴

So if we study these 'crimes against humanity' as part of Holocaust history, we need to start in 1933. From 1933 to 1945 Germany was ruled by Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist Party. From 1933 onwards, antisemitic actions were encouraged by the new rulers. In April and May 1933 Jewish shops were boycotted, and through the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* all Jewish civil servants were fired.²³⁵ Some other Jewish self-employed, such as journalists and lawyers, were excluded from their professional registers. Book burnings, affecting Jewish and other authors, took place in several German cities, Jewish artists were banned. The *Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung Deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen* meant that approximately 1,5% of all students in German schools and universities were allowed to be of 'non-Aryan' descent.²³⁶

In 1933 the first concentration camps were built, where political opponents, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses and other 'inferior' people were incarcerated. In July 1933, the *Gesetz zur Verhütung Erbkranken Nachwuch*s mandated the forced sterilization of physically and mentally handicapped, as well as other 'asocial' and 'non-Aryan elements'.²³⁷ This 'treatment' of *lebensunwürdiges Leben* ('life unworthy of living') was continued in 1939 through the so-called *Aktion T4* (named after the war after the office building located at the Berlin address Tiergartenstrasse 4). T4 meant the forced euthanasia (*Gnadentod*) of over 200,000 handicapped and psychiatric patients between 1939 and August 1941. It was halted because of strong protests by Christian churches.²³⁸

In 1935 the Nazis institutionalized their antisemitic ideology through the *Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre* or *Blutschutzgesetz* as well as through the *Reichsbürgergesetz*. Both legislations – better known as the 'Nuremberg Racial Laws' – determined that everyone who had three or four Jewish grandparents was considered to be Jewish, even if a person had not practiced Jewish religion or culture or was even converted to Christianity. So after 1935, every German was racially classified, and interracial marriages were forbidden. In August 1938, through the new version of the *Namensänderungsgesetz* ('legislation on alteration of family and personal names'), Jewish men and women had to extend their names to 'Israel' or 'Sara', depending on their gender. On 7 November 1938 a German diplomat in Paris was killed by a young Jewish man named Herschel Grynszpan. Grynszpan's parents were among thousands of Polish Jews that were expelled from Germany some days before. The assassination provoked violent and state orchestrated pogroms throughout Germany and the newly annexed Austria and Sudetenland, destroying some 7500 Jewish businesses and 267 synagogues and killing ninety-one Jews. Over 30,000 Jews were arrested and brought to concentration camps. The pogrom originally was called *Kristallnacht* ('night of broken glass'). Its name probably originates from crowd observation in Berlin, but nowadays it is often referred to as *Reichspogromnacht*. The

²³⁴ <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005140> (last consulted 25-5-2015).

²³⁵ Except those who were in office since August 1, 1914 or World War One veterans.

²³⁶ see: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, Jahrgang 1933 Teil I, 226 (<http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?apm=0&aid=dra&datum=19330004&seite=00000226&zoom=2>) (last consulted 22-6-2015).

²³⁷ <http://www.ushmm.org/learn/timeline-of-events/1933-1938> (last consulted 22-6-2015).

²³⁸ See also Aly, *Die Belasteten*.

violence and persecutions were meant to persuade Jews to leave Germany once and for all.²³⁹

Some historians see the *Kristallnacht* as a turning point in Nazi antisemitism. After November 1938, antisemitic policy came more and more under the jurisdiction of the SS.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, all Jewish economic activity was banned on 12 November 1938, through the 'Decree on the elimination of the Jews from economic life' (*Verordnung zur Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem deutschen Wirtschaftsleben*). In the same month, Jewish children were no longer allowed to attend 'German' schools. Jewish passports were branded with the letter 'J'. In fact, German Jews had lost most civil rights after November 1938. Many who could afford it, tried to leave Germany permanently. Before the proscription of emigration in October 1941, over fifty percent of the 505,000 German Jews (counted according to the census in June 1933)²⁴¹ had left the country (including a number of Austrian Jews after the Anschluss of March 1938).²⁴² Through the *Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung* ('State Office for Jewish Emigration'), the Nazis coordinated and stimulated this Jewish exodus. There were, however, not many countries willing to take in these often impoverished people. In July 1938 president Roosevelt initiated the Évian conference on Jewish refugees, hoping that – despite the context of the world economic crisis – states would be willing to change their immigration quotas. None – except for the Dominican Republic (against large sums of money) – did. The result of the conference was disastrous: on 13 July 1938, the Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* triumphantly commented: *Niemand will sie* ('No one wants them').²⁴³ Mainly because of economic circumstances, immigration doors were kept closed, although some private initiatives saved the lives of hundreds of Jews, notably American and British undertakings to bring Jewish children over to their countries (e.g. the saving of 669 Czech children through the so-called *Kindertransport*).²⁴⁴ Eventually, Great-Britain proved to be the only country that granted access for ten thousand Jewish children.²⁴⁵

When in September 1939 Poland was occupied by the German army, mass killings soon began. Tens of thousands of Polish men, mainly intellectuals, were killed or imprisoned. The *methodical* killings that occurred in this autumn of 1939 were clearly aimed at non-Jewish Poles – albeit that many Polish Jews were murdered during the invasion. Even during the deportations of 'undesirable' Poles, only a minority of the casualties were Jewish. In 1995, German historian Götz Aly pointed out that increasing radicalization of the persecutions of the Jewish population has to be examined through studying demographic and 'colonialist' aspects of Nazi rule in Poland and Eastern Europe.²⁴⁶ After the end of the Polish campaign in October 1939, two million Jews came to live under Nazi rule.²⁴⁷ In October 1939 the first ghetto for Jews was installed in Piotrków Trybunalski near the city of Łódź. Many more followed, one of the largest being the Warsaw Ghetto, where from November 1941 onwards some 350,000 Jews

²³⁹ Van Haperen et al., *The Holocaust and Other Genocides*, 18. See also Gilbert, *Kristallnacht*.

²⁴⁰ <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007403> (last consulted 22-6-2015).

²⁴¹ The original Jewish population in Germany was 523,000, but around 37,000 Jews emigrated from Germany after Hitler's rise to power in January 1933.

(<http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005276>) (last consulted 11-11-2015).

²⁴² Assmuss, *Holocaust. Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord*, 67.

²⁴³ Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden 1933-1945*, 114-116.

²⁴⁴ <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007780> (last consulted 25-9-2015).

²⁴⁵ Assmuss, *Holocaust. Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord*, 67.

²⁴⁶ Pohl, 'Der Holocaust und die anderen NS-Verbrechen', 130.

²⁴⁷ Van Haperen et al., *The Holocaust and Other Genocides*, 18-19.

were forced to live on 1.3 square kilometers. Over the years, a total of some 500,000 Jews were deported to the ghetto. Early 1943, only 40,000 people were left (officially); after the Uprising in April and May 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. Over three million Polish Jews were killed during WWII.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, systematic mass murders increased. The so-called *Kommissarbefehl* specifically ordered the assassination of all ideological opponents, mainly communist leaders ('commissioners').²⁴⁸ Behind the front lines, so-called *Einsatzgruppen* were actively engaged in eliminating potential enemies, mainly partisans, communist leaders, intellectuals and Jews. Often the *Einsatzgruppen* were supported by local anti-communist militias, e.g. in Ukraine, Lithuania or Belarus. Antisemitic attitudes had been latent here for centuries. Their murderous activities escalated rapidly: first only men were shot, later women and children too. In the weekend of 29 and 30 September 1941, 33,771 Jews were shot at Babi Yar, just outside of Kiev. In the months following, *Einsatzgruppe C* killed over 100,000 other people near Babi Yar.²⁴⁹

Deportations of Jews from other parts of Nazi occupied Europe towards the east began in the autumn of 1941. Stagnation of the German advance, however, resulted in overcrowded ghettos where Jews who were deported from western regions kept arriving. A more radical, 'Final Solution' was sought for the problem of overpopulation. Himmler supervised this *Endlösung* to the Jewish Question, Heydrich, head of the *Abteilung IVB4* of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* was in charge of the whole operation. In January 1942, at the so-called Wannsee Conference, progress of the 'Final Solution' was discussed. At the moment of the conference Jews were already massacred: at least 500,000 Jews were killed by the *Einsatzgruppen* or in gas wagons. The main purpose of the conference was to optimize the *Endlösung* through the SS and the genocide *europaweit zu koordinieren und systematisch durchzuführen* ('systematic coordination and implementation in the whole of Europe').²⁵⁰ Jews now were deported from all over Nazi controlled Europe towards ghettos and camps in the east. In some of the concentration camps experiments took place to seek more 'radical solutions'. In the existing work camp of Chelmno (near the town of Lodz), the Nazis began with gassing Jews and other 'undesirable people' (such as hospital patients and Roma) in December 1941. Earlier, in the autumn of 1941, preparations had been made to mass murder as many Jews as possible in the *Generalgouvernement* (Nazi controlled Poland). Later on, these operations were called *Aktion Reinhard*, named after Reinhard Heydrich, leader of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA),²⁵¹ who was killed by Czech resistance fighters in March 1942. After that, other camps were erected, their main purpose being the mass extermination of Jews and other people from occupied Europe. From January 1942 onwards, mass deportations to Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibór and Treblinka began, mainly of Jews from the ghettos of Lodz, Lublin, Cracow and Warsaw.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Van der Boom, 'Wij weten niets van hun lot', 33.

²⁴⁹ <http://www.ushmm.org/learn/timeline-of-events/1939-1941/occupation-of-kiev> (last consulted 22-6-2015).

²⁵⁰ <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/der-weltkrieg/voelkermord/wannsee-konferenz.html> (laatst geraadpleegd 23-6-2015).

²⁵¹ The *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* or RSHA became the overall security organization of the Third Reich and was founded by Heinrich Himmler on 22 December 1939. The organization consisted of an amalgamation of the *Sicherheitsdienst*, the *Gestapo* and the Criminal Police. The purpose of the organization was to eliminate all 'enemies of the Reich'.

²⁵² www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/zweiter-weltkrieg/holocaust/wannsee (last consulted 22-6-2015).

In 1942, the existing camps of Majdanek and Auschwitz came also into use as extermination camps. Following the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, some 440,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau between May and July of that year, the majority of whom were killed immediately after arrival.²⁵³ In Auschwitz alone (including camp Birkenau) 1,3 million Jews were murdered.²⁵⁴ The liberation of Auschwitz by Soviet troops took place on 27 January 1945. Days before the liberation of the camps, all remaining prisoners were forced to march westwards; during these so-called Death Marches thousands of inmates died of exhaustion, hunger or were killed by accompanying German guards.

The number of Jews and other victims who succumbed to Nazi persecutions during WWII varies per country. Approximately 90% of all the Polish Jews perished, against 45% of Belgian and Estonian and 25% of all Italian, French and Bulgarian Jews. Most of the Lithuanian, Latvian, Hungarian, Slovak, Luxembourg, Greek and Yugoslav Jews were murdered by the Nazis. In Germany, anti-Jewish measures began immediately after Hitler's take-over in 1933 and obtained an increasing threatening form. During the period of National Socialism, some 2,000 anti-Jewish laws and decrees were issued. During 1938, and especially after the Reichsprogromnacht in November of that year, many Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps all over Germany. In this sense, the months between March and November of 1938 can be seen as a period of 'radicalisation' in German antisemitism, as Friedländer has called it.²⁵⁵ In total between 134,500 and 141,500 German Jews were killed (roughly 24% of the 566,000 pre-war Jewish population).²⁵⁶ In the Netherlands, over 73% of all Jews living there were deported and killed, by far the highest percentage of Jewish victims in Western Europe. Only about 5,000 Dutch deportees survived the war. There have been many scholarly debates on this issue: how had it been possible that in this relatively modern and democratic society so many well assimilated Jews were eradicated from Dutch society. In 1940 some 160,000 Jews lived in the Netherlands, of whom 140,000 had the Dutch nationality. The others were refugees, mainly from Germany (16,000) and Poland (2,000). Over half of all the Jews lived in Amsterdam, twenty thousand in The Hague, and the rest were scattered all over the country.²⁵⁷ The Dutch army capitulated to the Germans in May 1940, after which the Nazis installed a civilian administration headed by the former Austrian Arthur Seyss-Inquart. In the summer of 1940 the first anti-Jewish measures were taken; in October over two hundred thousand Dutch civil servants were forced to declare whether they were Jewish or not through a so-called 'Aryan declaration'. Only 0,01% of all civil servants refused to sign; all Jewish civil servants were subsequently fired. In 1941 Jews were banned from many parts of public life: cinemas, universities, markets, parks, swimming pools, cafés. All Jews had to register at their local council; in October 1941 140,001 'full-Jews' were registered and 20,885 'half- and 'quarter-Jews'.²⁵⁸

²⁵³ <http://www.ushmm.org/learn/timeline-of-events/1942-1945/deportation-of-hungarian-jews> (last consulted 22-6-2015).

²⁵⁴ Van Haperen et al., *The Holocaust and Other Genocides*, 26.

²⁵⁵ Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden*, 124-125.

²⁵⁶ www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/resource_center/faq.asp and www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/ns-regime/ausgrenzung/ (last consulted 18-11-2016).

²⁵⁷ See Croes en Tammes, 'Giflaten wij niet voortbestaan' and <http://www.verzetsmuseum.org/museum/nl/tweede-wereldoorlog/achtergrond/achtergrond.jodenvervolging/isolering> (last consulted 27-6-2015).

²⁵⁸ Tammes, 'Het Belang van Jodenregistratie', 55.

On 12 February 1941 the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam was sealed off with barbed wire. On the 22nd and 23rd of that month the first raids took place in Amsterdam, after a clash between members of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD) and Dutch fascists with Jewish youngsters. 427 Jews were deported to Buchenwald and Mauthausen, where they eventually perished. Some protested against these brutalities: a strike ('February Strike') was called by the Communist Party in Amsterdam and other cities like Haarlem and Utrecht. The strikers also demanded higher wages and higher unemployment benefits. The strike lasted over a day and was crushed by the German authorities.²⁵⁹ In that month, the Germans installed a 'Jewish Council' in Amsterdam. In January 1942 Jewish men were summoned for employment in work camps in the north of the Netherlands (and later that year in German camps). In April 1942 Jews were forced to wear yellow stars. Later that year, Jews were being deported to the former Jewish refugee camp of Westerbork in the eastern province of Drenthe and the SS-concentration camp Vught²⁶⁰ in the south. On 15 July 1942 the first transport from Westerbork to Auschwitz took place; in total almost 107,000 people were deported through 97 transports, mostly to Auschwitz and Sobibór. Some of the trains went to Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt. The last transport left Westerbork on 13 September 1944. Dutch police forces guarded many transports and controlled the clearances of Jewish dwellings. Friedländer claims that the helpfulness of the Dutch police 'surpassed German expectations': in May 1942 a volunteer unit of 2,000 Dutch policemen was formed to assist the Germans in raids on Jews.²⁶¹ Some Dutchmen denounced Jews for money: in 1943 a group of more than fifty Dutch policemen searched the country for Jews who had tried to save their lives by going into hiding. Those who fell into the hands of this *Colonne-Henneicke* were not only handed over to the Germans, but also often taunted, robbed, extorted, mistreated and sometimes sexually abused. Dutch journalist Ad van Liempt estimated that some 8,500 Jews fell victim to this squad.²⁶² Many Dutch Jews tried to go into hiding; hundreds of Jewish children were saved and accommodated with foster families. Adults had more difficulties in obtaining shelter; it was of course a dangerous and uncertain undertaking. Furthermore, many Dutch people were reluctant to lodge Jews because of traditional sentiments of antisemitism or 'bourgeois civic compliance'.²⁶³ Nevertheless, some 25,000 Jews went into hiding, one third of whom were apprehended.²⁶⁴

2.2 The Holocaust and the historical discipline, 1945-1980

In recent years, there has been a vast increase in Holocaust research. One look at a Google Ngram chart in table 2.1 (based on searching for the word 'Holocaust' in English non-fictional publications between 1945 and 2008) shows the increase of the use of the term since the middle of the 1960s. The Holocaust has become an 'industry', as Norman

²⁵⁹ See Roest en Scheren, *Oorlog in de Stad* and Warmbrunn, *De Nederlanders onder Duitse Bezetting*, 106-109.

²⁶⁰ Officially called *Konzentrationslager Herzogenbusch* (see www.nmkampvught.nl/historische-informatie/) (last consulted 21-10-2015).

²⁶¹ Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden 1933-1945*, 345-350.

²⁶² See Van Liempt, *Kopgeld*.

²⁶³ Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden 1933-1945*, 349.

²⁶⁴ Withuis and Mooij (eds.), *The Politics of War Trauma*, 194.

Finkelstein argued in 2000. The number of academic studies on the Holocaust, he estimated, could be far over 10,000.²⁶⁵

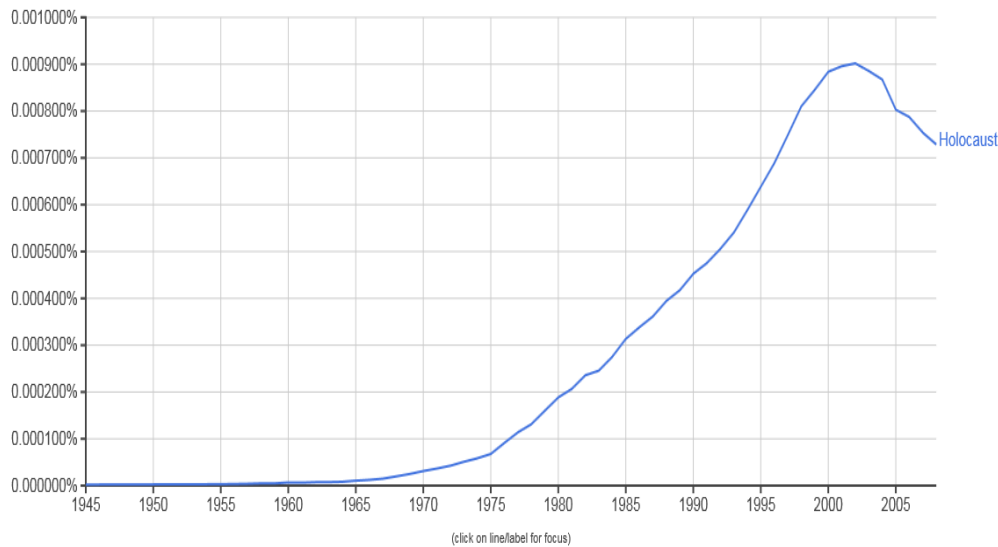


Table 2.1: 'Holocaust' in English non-fictional publications between 1945-2008²⁶⁶

Immediately after the war, however, Holocaust research was not a central topic in western historiography. It took until the year 1990, for instance, for Raul Hilberg's 1961 classic study on 'The Destruction of the European Jews' to be translated into German by a larger publishing house.²⁶⁷ In other countries, it took even longer: the Spanish version appeared in 2005 and the Hebrew translation in 2007, the same year Hilberg (1926-2007) passed away. Many Israeli scholars (as well as Yad Vashem) blamed Hilberg for 'concentrating too much on the Nazi destruction machinery', and for 'underexposing the role of Jewish resistance and victimhood'.²⁶⁸

In West Germany, the standard narrative has long been that after 1945 the (West) German population had buried the bad nationalist past that had resulted in two World Wars and the Holocaust, and that in the second part of the twentieth century West Germany had re-established itself as a democratic and capitalist society with an international outlook. In this view, the West German population was experiencing mixed emotions in 1945: people were relieved that the hardship and hazards connected to the war were over, but at the same time apathy and emotional paralysis dominated postwar society, just as fear of retaliation by the Allies did. Many West Germans believed that the country's future was to be closely related to the development of a re-emerging Western Europe. The division of Germany (formalized after 1949) meant the end of the notion of a *Mitteleuropa*, where Germany wanted to play a key role as a third party between the United States and the Soviet Union. Anti-communism was omnipresent, anti-Americanism was no longer possible in the political climate of the Cold War. The 'new'

²⁶⁵ Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry*, 143.

²⁶⁶

https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Holocaust&year_start=1945&year_end=2010&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2CHolocaust%3B%2Cc0 (last consulted 26-10-2015).

²⁶⁷ Although it had already been published in German in 1982 by a Berlin based publishing company, the reputable S. Fischer Verlag decided to merchandise the translation in paperback (*Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, Frankfurt am Main 1990).

²⁶⁸ Bajohr and Löw (eds.), *Der Holocaust. Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung*, 9.

generation gladly accepted the benefits of the American presence in Europe, although some German advocates of European values still considered American culture to be 'superficial' and 'unpleasant'. These reservations against American culture disappeared in the latter quarter of the twentieth century.²⁶⁹ In German historiography this interpretation of postwar society dominated until the 1970s. As Conze (1983), Frevert (2005), Schildt (2007) and Heyl (2007) have pointed out, this narrative has not proven to be wholly convincing. The caesura between pre- and postwar changes seems to be historically arbitrary because of the continuity of many institutional, cultural and mental traditions. Furthermore, Germany had already witnessed and experienced some kind of European integration before 1914. It was WWI that destroyed the German connection to European economic, cultural and political European networks.²⁷⁰

Dealing with the national-socialist past, however, proved to be very difficult for many Germans. In the first two decades after the war, there were hardly any discussions about individual guilt or individual responsibility. Therefore, in postwar West Germany the confrontation with the past was either connected with certain rituals commemorating the victims, or with oblivion. As German historian Matthias Heyl has stated, the Holocaust was initiated, organized and completed by Germans. The German language was used for the Nazi terminology and Nazi euphemisms (*Endlösung*, *Sonderbehandlung*). Consequently, questions of responsibility and guilt have been different and more difficult in Germany than elsewhere in Europe.²⁷¹ Most West German historians focused on the historical context of National Socialism, trying to answer the question how this could have happened. What 'this' was, was hardly brought to the surface.²⁷² German historian Matthias Heyl refers in this context to Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich's study *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern* (1967).²⁷³ This study ('The Inability to Mourn') is about the perpetrators' inability to dislocate themselves from the identification with National Socialism, Nazi leaders in general and Adolf Hitler in particular. Remembrance is understood here as the 'collective ritualization of individual mourning', a way to uplift the individual weight of mourning by sharing it with a group. Mourning implies loosening of the emotional ties with the lost subject through a process of grieving; remembrance is often an effort of obtaining a different (transcendent) connection to it. Mourning and remembrance are two consecutive (and perhaps parallel) developments and can be opposing processes of dealing with losses: mourners have to grieve the loss of the daily renewal of their relationship to the deceased or the past; actors of remembrance include and integrate the deceased and the past again in their identity through collective rituals. The inability to mourn the dead and gone (people and past) has accordingly had two repercussions. First, non-Jewish Germans were unable or unwilling to mourn or commemorate the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, and therefore in West Germany collective *victimhood* was separated from the collective state of *perpetration*. This led to an inability to engage with any aspect of mourning over or remembrance of the Holocaust. Secondly, because of this, West Germans identified themselves with the victims of WWII, therewith negatively fixing their common German identity.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Conze, 'Staats- und Nationalpolitik'; Frevert, 'Europeanizing Germany's Twentieth Century'; Heyl, 'Duitse herinneringscultuur'; Schildt, 'Nachkriegszeit'.

²⁷⁰ Frevert, 'Europeanizing Germany's Twentieth Century', 87-89.

²⁷¹ Heyl, 'Duitse herinneringscultuur', 229.

²⁷² Herbert, 'Holocaust-Forschung in Deutschland', 38-42.

²⁷³ Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*.

²⁷⁴ Heyl, 'Duitse herinneringscultuur', 223-228.

As stated before, the traditional narrative about *Stunde Null* - a period of inner decay when popular support for National Socialism in Germany quickly disappeared after being confronted with the immensity of the crimes and out of fear of revenge by the Allies – is problematic. Because of the abrupt end of National Socialism forced upon Germany by the Allies, the possibility of an open and objective debate on complicity, responsibility and guilt with regard to the war-years, was blocked. Many West Germans refrained from serious reflection on the Holocaust and other Nazi crimes, a refusal that has been interpreted as a continuation of the ‘indifference’ among the German population. ‘Indifference’, Horkheimer and Adorno have claimed, had been at the roots of National Socialism in the first place.²⁷⁵ National Socialism was being tabooed, became an ‘abstract residue of a depersonalized past’.²⁷⁶ This was, according to psychoanalyst Helmut Dahmer, a way out of confessing and confronting personal guilt and responsibility. He considered this to be the least fruitful method of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. Germany became the country of ‘forgetting’, where the majority of the people (bystanders) were not able or willing to review their political and societal orientation after so many years of dictatorship and war. By denying and repressing its memory, they preserved the mentality that had led to Nazi ideology in the first place.²⁷⁷ Banning the ‘historical Nazi from their minds’ and demythologizing the history of the National Socialist crimes, was a ‘deliberate act by which Germans actively chose to forget the recent past’, as Adorno had claimed earlier. When in the 1950s the process of denazification was brought to an end, West Germany became part of the western establishment. There was ostensibly no longer any political purpose in raking up the Nazi past.

Again and again, however, there were antisemitic outbursts. A small group of intellectuals and politicians who were relatively isolated, tried to confront West German society with its troublesome past. Scholars like Karl Jaspers or Eugen Kogon spoke of *Kollektivschuld*, *Kollektivscham*, and *Kollektivhaftung* (‘collective guilt, collective shame or collective liability’). In West German national culture, notions like *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* (‘dealing with the past’) are difficult to interpret.²⁷⁸ The way in which the new West German state was capable of dealing with the Nazi past (meaning a longitudinal remembering of the atrocities and actively resisting current or future antisemitism) soon became a key element in the newly formed identity of West Germany after 1945. Because of this, Lorenz claims, historians have played a much more important role in the West German public debate than in most other European countries. In the first decades, however, the historiographical debate in Germany was strongly characterized by traumatic experiences: how should scholars deal with the difficult and contaminated notion of the ‘nation’? Friedrich Meinecke’s publication *Die Deutsche Katastrophe* is typical for this attitude, Lorenz believes: it offers an apologetic image of National Socialism, which was by character totally ‘un-German’ and had been led by ‘the Austrian Adolf Hitler’.²⁷⁹ Jews were almost completely absent in German historiography during the first two decades after 1945. Historical scholarship dealt with (local) suffering of killed or wounded

²⁷⁵ Heyl, ‘Duitse herinneringscultuur’, 232.

²⁷⁶ Herbert, ‘Der Holocaust in der Geschichtsschreibung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland’, 71.

²⁷⁷ Heyl, ‘Duitse herinneringscultuur’, 232-233.

²⁷⁸ Theodor Adorno lectured in 1959 (‘Was bedeutet: Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit?’) that the structures and mindsets that had made Auschwitz possible in the first place, had been ‘aufgehoben’, that is they had dialectically emerged in a postwar synthesis and therewith ‘brought onto a higher level’ (Heyl, ‘Duitse herinneringscultuur’, 227-228 and 235).

²⁷⁹ Lorenz, ‘Twee soorten catastrofe’, 181.

soldiers and civilians, war damages and *Siegerjustiz*, and documented German victimhood in a way of preparing for possible allied reparations demands like after WWI.²⁸⁰

During the Nuremberg trials, the mass murder of the European Jews was well documented, but it did not play a key role in the legal procedures. Besides, the western allies had not liberated the larger extermination camps in the east, information which remained relatively obscure until the early 1990s. In the first decades after the war therefore, camps like Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Mauthausen and Dachau were at the centre of attention in western and West German collective memory and research, much more so than Auschwitz, Sobibór, Treblinka or Babi Yar.²⁸¹ In West Germany, hundreds of thousands of eye witnesses and protagonists of the Holocaust were still alive and hoped to escape judgment or worse. Most of the former members of the *Einsatzgruppen*, the police forces, the *Waffen-SS* or the camp administration were aged around fifty in the 1970s and therefore had every reason to keep silent. This led to the creation of collective and individual taboos, feelings of embarrassment and historiographical reticence, partly also because most National Socialist documents had been transferred to the United States. Most West German historians now focused on the historical context of National Socialism, trying to answer the question how all of this could have happened.²⁸²

During the 1960s, however, cultural changes were afoot. Younger generations were increasingly challenging this standard narrative of *discontinuity* by stressing the persistence of elements of National Socialism in West German society after 1945. An important film director in this context was Wolfgang Staudte (1906-1994). After the war, he made a number of so-called *Trümmerfilme*, films set against the background of the postwar ruins of Berlin. Two of those, *Die Mörder Sind Unter Uns* (1946) ('Murderers Among Us') and *Rosen Für Den Staatsanwalt* (1957) ('Roses for the Public Prosecutor') specifically dealt with former Nazi officials active in postwar West German society yet without specifically dealing with the persecutions of the Jews. Through these films, Staudte not only dealt with the contemporary past of his country, but also with his own: as a young actor, he had participated in the 1940 Nazi propaganda film *Jud Süß*.²⁸³

Other concerns were caused by antisemitic outbursts in the winter of 1959-1960,²⁸⁴ both in West- and East-Germany. Reports of the Eichmann-trial in 1961-1962 led to further discussions as did the three Auschwitz-trials in Frankfurt during the 1960s. The breakthrough in researching the Holocaust did not come from historians, but from legal experts. In Ludwigshafen, the *Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen* was founded in 1958. This 'Central Office of the State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes' researched Nazi hostilities against civilian populations not related to war events, in particular acts in concentration camps. The immediate inducement for the

²⁸⁰ Lorenz, 'Twee soorten catastrofe', 181.

²⁸¹ Herbert, 'Holocaust-Forschung in Deutschland', 37.

²⁸² Idem, 38-42.

²⁸³ 'Feigheit macht jede Staatsform zur Diktatur'. Ein Gespräch mit den Initiatoren und Vorstandsmitgliedern der Wolfgang-Staudte-Gesellschaft Uschi Schmidt-Lenhard und Andreas Lenhard (<http://www.wolfgang-staudte-gesellschaft.de/>) (last consulted 29-6-2015). Strangely enough, the German Historical Museum Berlin does not specifically mention Staudte's acting career during the Nazi era (see *Lebendiges Museum Online* (<http://www.hdg.de/lemo/biografie/wolfgang-staudte.html>) (last consulted 16-7-2015)).

²⁸⁴ More than seven hundred antisemitic incidents took place in Germany during the winter of 1959-1960, mostly by besmirching synagogues or Jewish graves. In the Netherlands too antisemitic slogans appeared in public spaces. (<http://www.spiegel.de/einestages/hakenkreuz-antisemitismus-in-der-nachkriegszeit-a-1006236.html>) (last consulted 11-11-2015).

establishment of the Central Office was the so-called 'Ulmer Einsatzkommando trial' against ten former members of the *Einsatzkommando Tilsit*, who were sentenced to long-term imprisonments because of their alleged participation in mass shootings, particularly of Jews. During these procedures, there were indications of more similar, not yet or not yet sufficiently clarified events in Nazi occupied countries. The founding of the Central Office therefore initiated a systematic persecution of the Nazi crimes.²⁸⁵ Since its establishment, the Central Office has initiated 7,555 investigations against Nazi crimes. Their archives contain about 1.7 million index cards of people, crime scenes and military units.²⁸⁶

The younger generations which during the 1960s started to challenge the war generations about their individual culpabilities, believed, however, that still too little was done to come to terms with the Nazi past. Their focus was on the (former) perpetrators, Jewish victimhood as a separate subject was still largely disregarded. New and younger politicians like Willy Brandt and Gustav Heinemann changed and challenged the political climate in West Germany. *Modell Deutschland* stood for 'normalization' of relationships with the German Democratic Republic and Israel, as well as of the history of National Socialism.²⁸⁷

When early in the 1960s, Hamburg historian Fritz Fischer (1908-1999) finished his study on German war policy before and during WWI (*Griff nach der Weltmacht. Die Kriegzielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914-1918*, published in English as *Germany's Aims in the First World War*), hardly any publisher seemed to be interested. When it did not involve Hitler, Fischer was told, it was of little concern. But when the book was published all the same in 1961, Fischer's 'provocative' main thesis caused enormous uproar. Fischer was one of the first German historians to claim that Germany had willingly provoked the outbreak of war in July 1914. If this were true, it meant that Germany had not fought a defensive war as was hitherto largely accepted, and that Germany's 'war guilt' (stated in the Treaty of Versailles) had been in accordance with historical reality after all. The reactionary, imperialist and racist German elite had not only caused and induced WWI, according to Fischer, but had also been responsible for the failure of democracy in Germany after 1918, thereby paving the way for the rise of National Socialism. Furthermore, Fischer claimed, this policy was widely bolstered by a large part of the German political landscape. Germany had been largely responsible for the outbreak of the war. Herewith, Fischer stressed a certain continuity in German history, thereby supporting the negative version of the *Sonderweg* ('special path') of a German society that developed economically but remained - in political terms - a reactionary and absolutist government.²⁸⁸

Between 1961 and 1964 leading West German historians, as well as national media and politicians, reacted strongly against this analysis of a war that first seemed to be as 'remote as the Punic Wars'.²⁸⁹ Especially in 1964, marking the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war, a supportive article in the influential magazine *Der Spiegel* provoked angry conservative reactions.²⁹⁰ A political scientist from Kiel challenged Fischer's book as being 'a bad work of history and diligent performance devoid of any instinct' and accused him of 'plastering all German history with Hitler's filth'. Historian

²⁸⁵ <http://www.zentrale-stelle.de/pb/.Lde/1264708> (last consulted 28-7-2015).

²⁸⁶ <http://www.zentrale-stelle.de/pb/.Lde/Startseite/ZENTRALE+STELLE+IN+ZAHLEN> (last consulted 28-7-2015).

²⁸⁷ Heyl, 'Duitse herinneringscultuur' 228-230.

²⁸⁸ Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht* and Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zunft*, 48-54.

²⁸⁹ Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zunft*, 47.

²⁹⁰ Augstein, 'Liebe Spiegelleser'.

Gerhard Ritter (1888-1967) denounced Fischer's thesis as 'political flagellation' and 'self-depreciation of German historical consciousness'.²⁹¹ Many public debates followed, in which both sides hardened their viewpoints. Fischer's publishing company in Hamburg was fire-bombed. This dispute seemed not only to concern historical interpretations, but also the clash of generations: some of Fischer's colleagues (like Ritter) had served in the German army during WWI.²⁹² The West German Foreign Office even refused to grant Fischer (already assured) financial support for a tour to fourteen universities in the United States, because his fellow-academics considered it 'undesirable' that Fischer propagated his thesis 'with the support of government money'.²⁹³

So after all, Fischer's publication did involve Hitler and the recent German past. Old school historians like Ritter, Egmont Zechlin (1896-1992) or Karl Dietrich Erdmann (1910-1990) had desperately tried to separate National Socialism from the allegedly unscathed national German past of before 1933. 'Bismarck', Ritter had stated, had not been 'Hitler's predecessor'. Fischer, however, represented a newer generation of German historians who considered the Führer not as a *Betriebsunfall* ('industrial accident') or an 'illegitimate alien', calling chancellor Bethmann Hollweg the 'Hitler of 1914'.²⁹⁴

During the 1960s and 1970s, younger generations were increasingly confronting West German authorities through emphasizing the social and political continuities of National Socialist attitudes in West German post war society. Reports of the Eichmann-trial in 1961-1962 and the Auschwitz-trials in Frankfurt led to further discussions. The play *Die Ermittlung* by the young playwright Peter Weiss (about the first Auschwitz-trial) was a theater hit in 1965.²⁹⁵ The difficulty was that different generations had different perspectives on the war and on National Socialism. Many Germans who had lived through the war had lost or known relatives or friends in the German army. These elder generations differentiated between 'Nazis' and 'other Germans', whereas younger Germans did not. For them, the main questions about 'German' war crimes remained unanswered.²⁹⁶

A part from the commemorations in former concentration camps in (West) Germany, the first time that the mass murder of the Jews was openly and explicitly commemorated was in 1987 when a temporary exhibition (*Topographie des Terrors*) was installed at the former Gestapo-headquarters in the Prinz-Albrecht-Straße in Berlin. More attention was dedicated to perpetrators and victims of the Holocaust in 1992 when the *Gedenkstätte Haus der Wannsee Konferenz* was opened.²⁹⁷ After WWII, it was believed in Germany, the past should not be remembered through a monument or *Denkmal* (which glorifies the past), but through a *Mahnmal* ('memorial'), which functions as a warning for the future.²⁹⁸ Because behind the generational controversies there were of course more urgent and cavernous matters: how could National Socialism have occurred in Germany, which continuities could be observed in German history and why and how did all this lead to a devastating war and massive persecution of Jews and

²⁹¹ Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zukunft*, 51-52.

²⁹² Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zukunft*, 54.

²⁹³ Idem, 56.

²⁹⁴ Idem, 27.

²⁹⁵ Heyl, 'Duitse herinneringscultuur', 236.

²⁹⁶ Meier, *From Athens to Auschwitz*, 158-163.

²⁹⁷ Kolen, Van Krieken en Wijdeveld, 'Topografie van de herinnering', 211-213.

²⁹⁸ Buruma, *Het loon van de schuld*, 210.

other people? These questions reappeared several years later during the so-called *Historikerstreit* ('historians' dispute') (see § 2.3).

In the Netherlands, the master narrative on WWII has changed over the years as well. According to historian Jan Bank, the extensive historiography on WWII in the Netherlands also reflected the moral standards that legitimized the political and social systems that emerged in the country after 1945.²⁹⁹ The basic consensus about moral attitudes during WWII has long remained unchallenged since 1945: there has always been a clear concept in Dutch society about who was 'right' and who was 'wrong' during the war. This consensus functioned as the foundation of national democracy and was hardly affected by scholarly debate or publications until the 1990s.³⁰⁰ Chiefly responsible for this 'black-and-white' perception of the war in the Netherlands was Loe de Jong (1914-2005), the first director of the State Institute for War Documentation ('RIOD' - later 'NIOD'). From 1955 until after his retirement in 1979, he devoted himself entirely to the completion of *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* ('The Kingdom of the Netherlands during WWII'). This standard work - consisting of fourteen parts - on the period of the German occupation of the Netherlands was published between 1969 and 1994. Every volume that was issued was accompanied by intense media attention, and was elaborately discussed and commented upon.³⁰¹ De Jong's general vision was that most Dutch had bravely opposed to the occupation in different manners and therefore had been loyal citizens. In his view, the real criminals had been the German oppressors as well as the Dutch fascist party NSB.

In chapter 1 I have already outlined the difficult circumstances with regard to Jewish victimhood in the Netherlands after the war. But, according to De Haan, between 1945 and the 1970s the Holocaust was more present in Dutch collective memory than hitherto accepted.³⁰² In comparison to other countries for instance, there were many early publications in the Netherlands about the Holocaust.³⁰³ In 1957, Jewish author Marga Minco (1920) wrote the fictional story of the persecutions of the Jews in the Netherlands in *Het Bittere Kruid. Een Kleine Kroniek*. This novel was translated into more than twenty languages, in English as *Bitter Herbs*. The price-winning story was much acclaimed and very broadly read in the Netherlands and beyond: over 400,000 copies were sold worldwide.³⁰⁴ Non-fictional authors like Herzberg and the historians Presser and De Jong were also Jews and had been eye-witnesses of the history they wrote about (although De Jong constrainedly stayed in London during the war). According to De Haan, this is relevant because it stresses the isolated position of Jewish historiography from the rest of Dutch historical writing. Non-Jewish historiography on the Holocaust hardly existed.³⁰⁵ In the publications of Herzberg, Presser and De Jong, the Holocaust in the Netherlands was first and foremost a matter between the Germans and the Jews. Non-Jewish Dutchmen were portrayed as disinterested bystanders, the attitudes of the Dutch government and civil servants were mentioned, but not fully analyzed. And

²⁹⁹ Jan Bank, *Oorlogsverleden in Nederland*, 3.

³⁰⁰ Von der Dunk, 'Negentienhonderdveertig; van neutralisme naar naziheerschappij', 313.

³⁰¹ <http://www.niod.nl/nl/het-koninkrijk-der-nederlanden-de-tweede-wereldoorlog/de-boeken> (last consulted 11-11-2016).

³⁰² De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 99-100.

³⁰³ Some examples: De Wolff, *Geschiedenis van de Joden in Nederland*; Wielek, *De oorlog die Hitler won*; Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolgung*; Mulisch, *De Zaak 40/61*; Presser, *Ondergang*; De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*.

³⁰⁴ <http://www.debezigebij.nl/web/Auteurs/Auteur/Marga-Minco.htm> (last consulted 25-10-2015).

³⁰⁵ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 20-21.

although Presser's publication was immensely popular (140,000 copies were sold within the first year of publication), no serious historical debates originated from this or other studies on the persecutions of the Jews. Presser's *Ondergang* (1965) is considered by many to be a turning point in thinking about the Holocaust in the Netherlands, mainly because it was written almost exclusively from the perspective of the perpetrators. After the publication of the book, many Dutch citizens felt a kind of passive collective guilt. But was it really a turning point? De Haan claims it was not. First of all, Presser's publication re-established the 'spirit of resistance', that some writers before him had already begun. An example is former resistance member H.M. van Randwijk who had published his war recollections in the newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*.³⁰⁶ Secondly, many early publications on the Holocaust were also best-sellers.³⁰⁷ Thirdly, Presser's publication was not new or historiographically different: he offered 'no new perspectives on the Holocaust'. Presser merely focused on the chronological overview of the persecutions and refrained from analyzing the motives of the perpetrators or the backgrounds of the persecutions (as was criticized by De Jong).³⁰⁸ In *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* De Jong elaborately describes the process of persecutions in the Netherlands, yet from a decisively moral perspective. *Het Koninkrijk* was heavily challenged by some fellow historians. In the 1980s Blom for instance opposed to some of De Jong's methodological aspects: the singular perspective of collaboration and resistance, the prominence of political and moral judging and the predominantly narrative presentation of mostly facts.³⁰⁹ Several other historians also responded to his monumental work, yet hardly with regard to the passages on the persecutions of Jews. Most of the academic comments referred to De Jong's approach in general. Conny Kristel's explanation for this is that there were hardly any specialists on the Holocaust in the Netherlands; the ones that were (like Ben Sijes and Hans van der Leeuw) worked at the RIOD and were involved in the creation of De Jong's work.³¹⁰

De Jong's account of the persecution of Jews gradually unfolds in his work, yet part eight of *Het Koninkrijk* is devoted entirely to the fate of the Jews. De Jong explicitly tried to 'explain' the history of the persecutions as well as the roots of antisemitism in Europe and the Netherlands by describing Jewish life before and after the war. Although De Jong was inspired by publications by Broszat, Billig and Hilberg, his historical narrative regarding the Holocaust, like that of Herzberg and Presser, remained limited to the Netherlands. The supervisory committee repeatedly asked for a comparison with events in other countries, but De Jong at this point refused.³¹¹

The marginalization of the victims of the Holocaust was common in Dutch society until the 1970s. In the first twenty-five years after the end of WWII, only a few monuments commemorating Jewish victims were erected in the Netherlands, sometimes after arduous and painful discussions. One of the first monuments referring to the

³⁰⁶ Later published as H.M. van Randwijk, *In de Schaduw van Gisteren. Kroniek van het Verzet in de Jaren 1940-1945* (Amsterdam 1967).

³⁰⁷ Some examples: *The Diary of Anne Frank* had fifteen reprints since its first appearance in 1947, Clara Asscher-Pinkhoff, who taught Jewish children in the Amsterdam ghetto, published a youth book in 1946 called *Sterrekinderen* ('Astral Children'), rewarded with the German Youth Book Prize 1962, *Amor Fati* (1946), *Kroniek der Jodenvervolgung* ('Chronicle of the Persecution of the Jews') (1950) and other publications by Bergen Belsen survivor Abel Herzberg (1893-1989) became widespread (De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 37).

³⁰⁸ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 37-38, De Graaff, *Op de klippen of door de vaargeul?* 44. See also Kristel, *Geschiedschrijving als opdracht*.

³⁰⁹ Blom, *In de ban van goed en fout?*.

³¹⁰ Kristel, *Geschiedschrijving als opdracht*, 283.

³¹¹ Idem, 183-184.

persecutions of the Jews was unveiled in Amsterdam in 1950, and was a gift by the Jewish community 'out of gratitude for the support' of the non-Jewish Amsterdam population during the war. Plans for placing an urn with ashes from Auschwitz were rejected.³¹² The Anne Frank House could only just be saved from demolition in 1956; mainly through the initiative of Otto Frank.³¹³ Plans for the erection of monuments for the commemoration of the persecutions of the Jews near former concentration camps in Amersfoort, Vught and Westerbork were dismissed: these camps served as *national* commemoration sites – if they were preserved as historical markers at all – and were not to be transformed into memorials for specific victim groups. In this sense, the postwar process of creating ideological uniformity in collective memories of WWII was well on the way. Deportation and destruction were mere 'illustrations of German depravity and as an exemplification of the suffering of the Dutch'.³¹⁴

In his study on the monumentalization of former concentration camps in the Netherlands, Hijink shows that the iconography of war monuments has changed dramatically since WWII. Until the 1970s, former prisoners were commemorated through national memorials. The camp sites were either demolished or converted into usable materials. One example is the so-called 'Anne Frank barrack' in Westerbork, that was torn down in 1957 and turned into a pigsty. These sites of death, hunger and torture did not fit into the postwar ideology of nationalism and reconstruction. That Jews had been imprisoned, killed or deported from these camps did not turn them into suitable places for remembrance. The history of Westerbork for instance, proved to be too painful or too sensitive, both for Jews and non-Jews. Before and after the war it had served as an internment camp for respectively German-Jewish refugees and Indonesian military personnel. For the Dutch Jews therefore, Amsterdam became the symbolic place for remembrance. Notwithstanding, a national monument for the persecuted Jews was eventually erected in Westerbork, however, with some difficulties. The monument was unveiled twice: at the official unveiling on May 4, 1970 only a select group of dignitaries was present. Camp survivors and their organizations were not invited. Hence, the Dutch Auschwitz Committee organized a second unveiling in September 1970, which was attended by about one hundred and fifty survivors.³¹⁵

Other important sites that reminded of Jewish life before the war or the persecutions during WWII were threatened during the 1940s and 1950s. The Anne Frank *Achterhuis* was to be demolished in order to establish new offices. After public outcry and the establishment of the Anne Frank Foundation in 1957, the property could be restored. In May 1960 the Anne Frank House opened as a museum.³¹⁶ The contention over the postwar function *Hollandsche Schouwburg* and the planned demolition of the old Jewish quarter in Amsterdam were other poignant reminders of the difficult dealing of Dutch authorities with the war traumas.³¹⁷ It was not until the middle of the 1980s that what was left of the former camps was reestablished as institutionalized centers of remembrance. Nowadays, the former camps (mainly Amersfoort, Vught and Westerbork) have been turned into important memorial centers, where monuments, museums and educational projects can be visited and witnessed.³¹⁸

³¹² Van Vree, *In de schaduw van Auschwitz*, 93.

³¹³ Idem, 98.

³¹⁴ Idem, 93.

³¹⁵ Hijink, *Voormalige concentratiekampen*, 310-311.

³¹⁶ <http://www.annefrank.org/nl/Sitewide/Organisatie/Organisatie/> (last consulted 7-5-2016).

³¹⁷ Hijink, *Voormalige concentratiekampen*, 110-119. See also Duindam, *Signs of the Shoah: The Hollandsche Schouwburg as a Site of Memory*.

³¹⁸ Hijink, *Voormalige concentratiekampen*, 16-17.

The Eichmann trial in Jerusalem (1961-1962) was – as in West Germany - a turning point in postwar Dutch remembrance of the Holocaust. Many articles were published on the persecution of the Jews, the personality of Eichmann or the – in communist opinion – insufficient development of denazification in West Germany. The Dutch Communist Party even organized a postcard-action against Hans Globke, undersecretary in Adenauer's government, who allegedly had been involved in the 1935 Nuremberg racial laws.³¹⁹ In the academic world this led to renewed attention for the perspective of the perpetrators, whereas the public culture (novelists, film directors, journalists or politicians) has played a significant part in dealing with the victims of the Holocaust.³²⁰ From the early 1980s onwards, the increase in attention for the victims began with the broadcast of the NBC miniseries *Holocaust* in 1979 (both in the Netherlands and West Germany).³²¹ In this drama-series, one witnesses the Holocaust through the lives of members of the Weiss family, a fictitious German-Jewish family who became victim of antisemitism and the Holocaust. This broadcast marked an important breakthrough in the general Holocaust-awareness of a broader public, both in the United States and in Europe. Over a hundred million Americans and millions of Europeans watched the nine and a half hour television program. With it, several (Jewish) organisations issued an enormous amount of publications, educational materials and study guides. Most critics were enthusiastic about this first ever appearance of the Holocaust narrative before a mass audience, but some others, like survivor Elie Wiesel, thought it to be “untrue, offensive, cheap”.³²² Many felt that one could not portray the immensity of the crimes and the suffering in teleplays; in the words of Raul Hilberg: ‘If you were not there, you cannot imagine what it was like’. The right to testify had to be limited to the survivors only, because the unique character of the event seemed to be at stake: the Holocaust thus was presented as a ‘sacred mystery’ that could not and was not be profanely ‘imagined’.³²³

On the other hand, it meant that a ‘true’ identification with the victims could finally develop.³²⁴ Through this American ‘soap opera’, a ‘trivialization of an ontological event’, the suffering of the victims and the willingness of ‘normal’ civilians to participate in these crimes became apparent in public awareness.³²⁵ The term ‘Holocaust’, hitherto unknown outside of the United States, suddenly became widespread as the reference to the historic event.³²⁶ When *Holocaust* was broadcast in Germany in January 1979, it was preceded by many discussions and publications. Political parties, Christian institutions and Jewish organizations encouraged West Germans to watch the program. Neo-Nazi's agitated as well; there were even bomb attacks on ARD studio's during the transmission of an introduction documentary (Zielinski 1980, 86). Never before had the Holocaust been so dominant in public discussions than during those weeks. From 1980 onwards, the Holocaust had become a public event of the first degree.³²⁷

³¹⁹ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 168-171.

³²⁰ Lorenz, ‘Twee soorten catastrofe’, 25 and 33.

³²¹ *Holocaust* (National Broadcasting Company NBC) (originally released in the United States in April 1978).

³²² Novick, *The Holocaust and Collective Memory*, 209-211.

³²³ Idem, 212-213.

³²⁴ Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 97-99.

³²⁵ Zielinski and Custance, ‘History as Entertainment and Provocation’, 86 and Pingel, ‘Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust in westdeutschen Schulbüchern’, 228.

³²⁶ Van Vree, *Door de ogen van de slachtoffers*, 6.

³²⁷ Zielinski and Custance, ‘History as Entertainment and Provocation’, 86.

2.3 The impact of collective memory on Holocaust research, 1980-2010

In Germany, a shift in appreciation for the Nazi past took place during the 1980s through the so-called *Normalisierungsdebatten* (discussions on the history and crimes of National Socialism), by which some German historians and journalists attempted to 'normalize' Germany's dealing with this troubled history. In 1985 historian Martin Broszat posed the question whether it would be possible to treat National Socialism the same way as other historical epochs. His 'plea for historization' of the Third Reich led to fierce and fruitful discussions among historians, mainly about the position of National Socialism within the broader context of German history. Broszat believed that, forty years after the end of WWII, the lack of distance between many (West-German) historians and the Third Reich still hindered decent academic analysis of the era, and impeded 'standard' historical and methodological approaches. Only by submitting Nazism to similar methods, would it be possible to search for continuities in German history by comparing the function of Nazism with other societies from that era, or by analysing components of social history like the history of everyday life before, during and after National Socialist rule.³²⁸

Politicians and scholars were also urging for 'normality' in debates between Jews and non-Jews (*Ende der Schonzeit* or 'End of the Honeymoon'). But, as mentioned in chapter 1, a large number of public controversies in Germany still marked the sensitivity of the Nazi legacy. Discussions on German suffering during WWII reopened; in particular the forced migration of twelve million Germans from Eastern Europe and the Allied bombardments of German cities. Many debates were held on the moral aspects of this renewed emphasis on German victimhood: wouldn't this lead the public astray from the fact that others suffered far more from the Nazi crimes?³²⁹

An earlier and similar dispute was initiated by several publications by the West German historian Ernst Nolte.³³⁰ It led to an enormous public controversy – later known as the *Historikerstreit* - mainly among West German historians during the 1980s. Politicians and media participated in the debate; hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles dealt with the matter.³³¹ Nolte's thesis (in simplified representation) had addressed the origins of the Holocaust. He claimed that the Nazi crimes against the Jews did not derive from existing antisemitism but had to be seen as a reaction to bolshevist terror in the Soviet Union. The Holocaust had been horrific and unique in its appearance, but comparable with other genocides in its intrinsic nature.³³² Out of fear for Soviet aggression deriving from the Bolshevist revolution, the Nazis responded with ethnic

³²⁸ Kershaw, *Hitler, Duitsers, de Holocaust*, 290-293. The urge for 'normality' in the dealing with National Socialism was reflected in the 1980 and 1982 national history contest among secondary school students (*Geschichtswettbewerb des Bundespräsidenten*), which dealt with 'everyday life under National Socialism'. Almost 18,000 students participated, with over 3400 contributions.

³²⁹ Dassen et al., *Duitsers als slachtoffers*, 19.

³³⁰ See Nolte: *Deutschland und der Kalte Krieg*; 'Über Frageverbote' and 'Die Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will' (<http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/~g31130/PDF/Nationalismus/ErnstNolte.pdf>) (last consulted 18-9-2015).

³³¹ A selection of which was published by Piper Verlag in July 1987' in "*Historikerstreit*". *Die Dokumentation der Kontroversen um die Einzigartigkeit der nationalsozialistische Judenvernichtung* (München 1989).

³³² Nolte, 'Die Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will'.

violence in Central and Eastern Europe. Nolte saw the Holocaust as a replica of the mass murders in the Gulag or even the Armenian 'genocide' committed by the Turks in 1915, with the acknowledgement that the Nazis were far more rational and industrial in their mass killings.³³³ Philosopher Jürgen Habermas, together with other academics, contested this viewpoint. They believed that Nolte's stand could be dangerous because it might facilitate extreme right wing movements to diminish the importance of the Holocaust by contextualizing it as 'just one of the events during contemporary history'. In retrospect, one could say that the German *Historikerstreit* was one of the first attempts to normalize the academic debate. Nolte (and fellow historian Andreas Hillgruber) tried to 'historicize' the Holocaust by relating it to anti-communism. It was Friedländer, however, who expressed his fear that this could lead to diminishing the differences between different interpretations of the Nazi past and increasing apologetic lectures of history.³³⁴

Habermas accused Nolte (and others) of trivializing German responsibility for the Holocaust and thereby concealing the true nature of the German past. In his newspaper article *Eine Art Schadensabwicklung* ('a kind of settlement of damages') Habermas believed that some West German historians were apologists of National Socialist crimes.³³⁵ The debate that had followed Fischer's *Sonderweg*-approach was repeated again: how should West German society deal with the terrible burden of their recent history? Through political discussions about chancellor Helmut Kohl's ambitions to 'overcome the mental and moral crisis' of West German society, this so-called *Historikerstreit* was no longer just an academic peculiarity, but rapidly became an issue of national interest. It was time for a 'trend reversal', which clearly meant that a formal national reassessment of much of its history was opportune now. One of Kohl's advisors was historian Michael Stürmer, who had been in favor of government plans to establish two museums 'celebrating' modern German history in West Berlin and Bonn. 'A country without history', Stürmer warned, was open to 'loss of orientation and deprivation of identity'.³³⁶ Many opponents (from the 'Habermas-camp'), however, believed these plans were nothing more than attempts to construe 'from above' a far too positive image of German national history. The *Historikerstreit* reached its climax in the years between 1986 and 1989, after which the events in Eastern Europe obtained more prominence.

After the German reunification in 1990, many hoped and believed that Germany could return to a 'normal' process of nation building, characterized by more positive features of its history and remembrance. The National Socialist past and the Holocaust, hitherto a major obstacle in the development of German national self-consciousness, seemed to have reached the stadium of history and museum representation, or – in terms of Jan Assmann – 'cultural memory'. The first years after the reunification, however, showed that quite the opposite was true. The success of Spielberg's feature film *Schindler's List* in 1993, as well as the 1996 publication of *Hitler's Willing Executioners* by Harvard historian Daniel J. Goldhagen,³³⁷ - the book sold 360,000 copies in Germany alone - made it clear that the Nazi past was still overshadowing the apparently innocent landscape of German society after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The younger generations – born long after 1945 – still had to cope with the difficult heritage

³³³ Nolte, 'Die negative Lebendigkeit des Dritten Reiches'.

³³⁴ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 44.

³³⁵ Habermas, 'Eine Art Schadensabwicklung', 62-77.

³³⁶ Stürmer, 'Geschichte in geschichtslosem Land', 36-38.

³³⁷ Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.

of their forefathers.³³⁸ Goldhagen's thesis was unequivocally negative with regard to the Germans: nowhere in Europe had a virulent and racist antisemitism spread as thoroughly as in Germany. When Hitler assumed power in 1933, the breeding ground for the 'eliminatorische antisemitismus' had already been present. In Goldhagen's perception there had even been a tacit agreement between Nazi leaders and the majority of the German population to shape a *judenrein* ('clean free of Jews') Germany and Europe. In his central thesis, claiming that without Germans, the Holocaust wouldn't have occurred, Goldhagen followed the footsteps of fellow historian Christopher Browning, with one huge difference: Browning had analyzed a specific group of perpetrators ('Police Battalion 101') and came to the conclusion that these 'ordinary men' represented average social structures and political viewpoints, rather than being characterized as fanatical sadists. When radicalization occurred, Browning found, it was due to group pressure, not because of collective 'eliminatorische antisemitismus'.³³⁹ For Browning the perpetrators had been 'ordinary men' in radicalizing circumstances, for Goldhagen they were 'ordinary Germans', stressing the national essence of their perpetratorhood.³⁴⁰ Through the introduction of the – much criticized – term '*eliminatorische antisemitismus*', he claimed that most Germans were ideologically motivated for murder.³⁴¹

This is not the place for profound in-depth discussion of the quality of Goldhagen's analysis, but many prominent Holocaust researchers at the time were appalled by the simplicity of his thesis and the methodological flaws in his empirical work. German historian Dieter Pohl e.g. criticized Goldhagen for being 'speculative' and using 'argumentative strategies that approach the limits of scientific research' and at the same time 'being very confident about his convictions and theories'.³⁴² His main opponent outside Germany was the Canadian Holocaust researcher Ruth Birn, who had had access to the same sources that Goldhagen had used at the Central Office of the State Justice Administration for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Ludwigsburg. Her vehement opposition,³⁴³ backed by Holocaust experts like Raul Hilberg, Christopher Browning and Ian Kershaw, even provoked Goldhagen to take legal action: he sued Birn for libel.³⁴⁴ New York political scientist Norman Finkelstein entered the debate, claiming that he was not as much interested in the 'ahistorical and mono-causal' findings of Goldhagen, as in the way the Holocaust was represented as part of the identity and memory in the United States. The Holocaust, according to Finkelstein, had become an instrument of ideology, serving a clear political purpose, namely to exploit the murder of the Jews in order to shield Zionism and the state of Israel against any legitimate criticisms.³⁴⁵

In view of all the criticism, the essential contribution Goldhagen has made to Holocaust research may perhaps not be the central thesis of his historical analysis, but the provocation of the discussions that followed. In other words: Goldhagen's answers were unsatisfactory, but the questions he raised triggered many younger Germans to

³³⁸ Kershaw, *Hitler, de Duitsers en de Holocaust*, 330-333.

³³⁹ Browning, *Ordinary Men*.

³⁴⁰ Wolfrum, *Geschichte als Waffe*, 141. For more on the reception of Goldhagen's book (in Germany) Eley (ed.) *The 'Goldhagen Effect'*.

³⁴¹ Bajohr, 'Täterforschung: Ertrag, Probleme und Perspektiven', 167-169.

³⁴² Kershaw, *Hitler, de Duitsers en de Holocaust*, 335-336.

³⁴³ See for more on the Birn-Goldhagen controversies Finkelstein et al., *A Nation on Trial*.

³⁴⁴ Jeismann, 'Der Schutz des allmächtigen Autors'. For an interview with Ruth Birn, see <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-8812232.html> (last consulted 21-9-2015).

³⁴⁵ Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry*, 63-67.

enter new rounds of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. How had the Holocaust been possible and who had been the perpetrators? His book became an international bestseller and Goldhagen toured Germany in triumph. Postwar German generations, Goldhagen repeatedly claimed, had overcome the antisemitic disposition of older generations. Those Germans who had not lived under Nazi rule, 'should not feel tormented by the past', according to Goldhagen. Therefore, young Germans felt his book to be 'liberating', and identified with Goldhagen as the 'symbol of overcoming the past', as if reading this publication meant undergoing 'collective exoneration'.³⁴⁶ German historians were generally as critical of Goldhagen's book as their foreign counterparts. The German antisemitism researcher Reinhard Rürup summarized it as follows: 'what is correct about his theses is not new, and what is new isn't correct'.³⁴⁷ In retrospect, three vital sequelae developed in the aftermath of the Goldhagen publication: the discourse that followed was the first transnational public and scholarly debate about the Holocaust. Furthermore it had become clear that in Germany it was still not possible to fully 'historicize' Nazism. Thirdly, although *Hitler's Willing Executioners* obtained poor reception by professionals, the public interest and appreciation of Goldhagen's work was much more favorable; as if the historical guild had lost the exclusive right on historical interpretations.³⁴⁸

This was highlighted in 1998, through the Walser-Bubis-controversy. German novelist Martin Walser, on receiving one of the most prestigious German literary awards, the *Friedenspreis des deutschen Buchhandels* ('Peace Prize of the German Booksellers Association'), condemned the 'instrumentalization of Auschwitz' as 'a permanent exhibit of our shame', and called for the 'self-internalization of the Holocaust's remembrance and its expulsion from public memory'. Walser was heavily criticized by Ignatz Bubis, President of the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland* ('Central Council of Jews in Germany'), who claimed that the 'door had been opened for others by breaking a taboo'. In the end, all agreed that a shared national identity that incorporates the Nazi past had to emerge.³⁴⁹

Some of the most influential and controversial discussions on the Holocaust were those between so-called *intentionalists* and *functionalists* (sometimes called 'structuralists').³⁵⁰ These terms (coined in 1981 by Timothy Mason) refer to two historical interpretations of the processes involved in the emergence of the Holocaust. Intentionalists assume there was a linear path from the rise of Hitler to mass destruction of the Jews, and a 'constant and unwavering intention of the Nazis to destroy European Jewry physically'.³⁵¹ These historians mainly analyze Nazi plans and objectives which come forward in Hitler's speeches as well as in *Mein Kampf*. Goldhagen can be considered one of the most extreme intentionalists. In *Hitler's Willing Executioners* he claims that 'the Germans had a national project going back to Luther, to do away with the Jews'.³⁵² Goldhagen stated that the German idea of destroying European Jewry had existed since early ages, and that Hitler's totalitarian regime made the implementation possible. As said before, this notion of 'elimination-antisemitism' has been contested by many historians from both camps, including Saul Friedländer and Yad Vashem scholar

³⁴⁶ Wolfrum, *Geschichte als Waffe*, 141 and Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zunft*, 152.

³⁴⁷ Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zunft*, 151.

³⁴⁸ Idem, 155.

³⁴⁹ Schirmacher, *Die Walser-Bubis-Debatte*.

³⁵⁰ Pascoe, *Intentionalism and Functionalism*, 41.

³⁵¹ Bresheeth et al., *Introducing the Holocaust: A Graphic Guide*, 23.

³⁵² Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York 1996), 284.

Yehuda Bauer.³⁵³ The biggest problem for intentionalists seems to be a lack of proof: there is no direct evidence that Hitler has been the driving force behind the Holocaust. There are no direct orders, there is no immediate link between Hitler's antisemitism and the intention to commit genocide.³⁵⁴ Functionalists dispute the idea of a linear path. In their view, the 'twisted road' to the Holocaust was made possible by various developments both within and outside the Third Reich. Raul Hilberg, a prominent functionalist, claimed that the Nazis did not have a previously conceived master plan and didn't know what to do with the Jews. He described this phenomenon as the metaphor of an 'uncontrollable train, going into an unspecified direction'.³⁵⁵

Functionalist researchers focus on Nazi policy, this being 'the key to determining the unfolding of the Holocaust'.³⁵⁶ They stress the importance of a 'bureaucratic machinery' eventually leading up to the uncontrollable process of what Hans Mommsen has termed 'cumulative radicalization'.³⁵⁷ Mommsen referred to 'politics without administration': unclear laws were passed and conjunction between Nazi officials was discouraged.³⁵⁸ Hitler constantly 'invented' new government positions which led to increasing rivalry between other Nazis. These ambiguities led to a 'radicalization of policy, which inevitably resulted in genocide'.³⁵⁹ In this discussion Kershaw added the theory of 'working towards the Führer': 'even though there are no clear instructions, people know what is expected from them'.³⁶⁰ Nazi leaders competed for Hitler's approval by trying to execute what they believed were his beliefs: Jews were seen as the 'enemies who were preventing them from achieving their goal'.³⁶¹ The result was the destruction of millions of people: Jews and other 'inferior elements', like homosexuals, Sinti and Roma or Soviet prisoners.

The debate between intentionalists and functionalists in the 1980s did not result in a clear triumph of one of the two visions: it has more or less led to a synthetic coalescence of both historical schools. In an interview in 1997 Mommsen confirms that he has become a functionalist, but stresses that 'this fact is no longer too important since recently there has been an intermingling of the various schools of thought. [...] there emerges a convergence [...] while the conflict between the functionalists and intentionalists is vanishing'.³⁶² This development has been continued until the present day. As Longerich claimed in 2010, both visions have researched different aspects of the same system, and 'on closer inspection [they] prove to be by no means mutually exclusive'.³⁶³ An example of how the ideas of both intentionalists and functionalists merge, is the debate on the actual decision to systematically exterminate the European Jews. There is a general consensus over the fact that the 'road to Auschwitz' has not been a linear or premeditated process, but something that developed intermittently, at times

³⁵³ <http://www.groene.nl/artikel/de-holocaust-als-hype-goldhagen-onderscheidt-maar-twee-groepen-duitsers-daders-en-slachtoffers-daartussenin-zit-niets> (last consulted 29-6-2015).

³⁵⁴ Mason, *Nazism, Fascism and the Working Class*, 43.

³⁵⁵ Interview with Raul Hilberg, in *Le Monde* (25-2-1994).

³⁵⁶ Pascoe, *Intentionalism and Functionalism*, 43.

³⁵⁷ Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, 1.

³⁵⁸ Pascoe, *Intentionalism and Functionalism*, 43.

³⁵⁹ Idem, 44.

³⁶⁰ Kershaw, 'Working Towards the Führer'.

³⁶¹ Pascoe, *Intentionalism and Functionalism*, 44.

³⁶² Interview with prof. Hans Mommsen (http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203850.pdf), 1.

³⁶³ Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, 3.

faster and more radical.³⁶⁴ There is no complete unanimity on the matter, however; some discussion continues about what was the most important turning point in the history of the Holocaust, even after the decision was made. Most intentionalists claim that the transition towards genocide was taken during early spring of 1941.³⁶⁵ Browning, a contemporary functionalist, believes it was autumn 1941, in response to a number of talks between Hitler and Himmler, resulting in the systematic character of the mass murders.³⁶⁶ Other functionalists have stated that the Holocaust was the result of the radicalization of the regime, and there has never been a definite decision. Friedländer and Hilberg chose for the summer of 1941, while Gerlach saw December 1941 as the beginning, because of the emergence of the military conflict with the United States.³⁶⁷ Saul Friedländer might have had the ultimate response, when he stated that 'the crimes committed by the Nazi regime were neither a mere outcome of some haphazard, involuntary, imperceptible, and chaotic onrush of unrelated events nor a predetermined enactment of a demonic script; they were the result of converging factors, of the interaction between intentions and contingencies, between discernible causes and chance. General ideological objectives and tactical policy decisions enhanced one another and always remained open to more radical moves as circumstances changed'.³⁶⁸

In Germany, however, other matters were more pressing. One of the main questions that remained a matter of debate in German public opinion and in academic circles, was whether a whole generation of Germans had participated in the crimes, or just a limited number of men. The so-called Wehrmacht Exhibition (*Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944*, or 'Crimes of the Wehrmacht. Dimensions of the War of Annihilation 1941-1944') triggered many heated discussions in Germany. Over 800,000 people visited the first version of the exhibition. Organized by the Hamburg *Institut für Sozialforschung*, the exhibition showed between 1995 and 1999 how the German army had been (partly) responsible for the mass murder of over three million Soviet prisoners of war as well as for hundreds of thousands civilians in Eastern Europe. After heavy criticism by politicians, historians and the military, the curators revised parts of the exhibition and released a new version in 2001 (which travelled through Germany, Luxemburg and Austria until 2004), changing minor errors and correcting inaccuracies and volatilities in the presentation of the material. However, the fundamental thesis of the exhibition remained intact, claiming that the German army had fought a war of annihilation against the Soviet Union. The legend of the 'unpolluted Wehrmacht' had now definitively been revised.³⁶⁹ Now it became widely accepted that 'ordinary Germans' had participated in war crimes and the Holocaust. Publications like *Opa war kein Nazi* ('Granddad was not a Nazi')³⁷⁰ provoked and reflected new confrontations with the perpetrators. The vast majority of those who were part of the war generation was withering away anyhow; in 1998 over

³⁶⁴ Interview with prof. Hans Mommsen (http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203850.pdf), 2.

³⁶⁵ Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, 2.

³⁶⁶ Interview with prof. Hans Mommsen (http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203850.pdf), 2.

³⁶⁷ Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, 2.

³⁶⁸ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution 1933–1939*, 5.

³⁶⁹ Herbert, 'Holocaust-Forschung in Deutschland', 59-60 and <http://www.bpb.de/geschichte/zeitgeschichte/deutschlandarchiv/53181/die-erste-wehrmachtsausstellung?p=all> (last consulted 30-7-2015). See also Pohl, *Die Herrschaft der Wehrmacht*.

³⁷⁰ Welzer et al., *"Opa war kein Nazi"*.

two-third of the German population had lived the 'blessing of a late birth', as chancellor Helmut Kohl had described this *Gnade der späten Geburt* in 1983.³⁷¹

Since the 1960s, contemporary historians in Germany (and elsewhere) have been challenged by other (non-professional) groups in society with regard to interpretation of the past. Especially the exegesis of the history of National Socialism and the Holocaust seemed no longer to be the prerogative of learned historians. The *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in Germany entered a new phase at the end of the 1990s. It was not until that decade that German scholars started to research German perpetrators on a broader scale. Before, the main controversy evolved around the question whether 'the perpetrators' formed a group that was relatively isolated from the rest of society. Hitler, Himmler or Heydrich were considered as 'the perpetrators', whereas other key figures were classified as 'auxiliary persons'.³⁷² Many of the discussions took place through newspaper articles, television appearances or public manifestations, and were increasingly unconnected with academic publications. Over the years, artists, journalists, politicians, filmmakers and essayists, with the assistance of mass media, carried historical debates on Nazism into the realm of public ownership. History became more 'socialized', in the sense that it was no longer the perceived exclusive domain of historians. This medialization of the Holocaust sometimes led to nostalgic lamentations, claiming that 'history pertains in the hands of historians', as one German military expert demanded in the context of the Wehrmacht-discussion in 1999.³⁷³ But in the present communication society, historical feature films and internet sources also determine the formation of our image of the past. A good example is the 'USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education', originally called the 'Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation', founded in 1994 by film director Steven Spielberg. His purpose was to record visual testimonies of survivors and other witnesses of the Holocaust. Nearly 52,000 interviews in fifty-six countries have thus become accessible. Since then, more than one million visitors have accessed the USC Shoah Foundation's visual archives.³⁷⁴

The latest research shows that between 200,000 and 250,000 Germans and Austrians participated in the Holocaust as perpetrators, assisted by large numbers of 'foreign' squads of Lithuanians, Latvians, Poles or Ukrainians.³⁷⁵ By studying the perpetrators, the picture of the Holocaust has changed over the years. The long-time dominant image of the mechanical and industrial process of mass killing and the destruction of the victims, largely associated with Auschwitz-Birkenau, has been complemented with the recognition of thousands of mass murderous actions in the Bloodlands of Eastern Europe. The initiation of the Holocaust has likewise been revised through *Täterforschung*: there has not been a decisive order from above. Research has

³⁷¹ The phrase *Gnade der späten Geburt* was coined by Kohl during a state visit to Israel. It was meant to express that Germans (like himself) who had been born after 1930 could not be held responsible for the crimes committed in the name of National Socialism. Whether or not they had been supportive of the regime, due to their young age they had not been able to decide for themselves, Kohl stated. See http://www.welt.de/welt_print/politik/article7034675/Die-Gnade-einer-spaeten-Geburt.html (last consulted 23-9-2015).

³⁷² Otto Bradfisch for instance, who served as the commander of *Einsatzgruppe B* and is held responsible for the execution of 15,000 Jews and Soviet POW's, was convicted in 1961 for 'abetting to murder'. See Bajohr, 'Täterforschung: Ertrag, Probleme und Perspektiven', 167-169.

³⁷³ Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zunft*, 167.

³⁷⁴ <https://sfi.usc.edu/> (last consulted 23-9-2015).

³⁷⁵ Bajohr, 'Täterforschung: Ertrag, Probleme und Perspektiven', 169-170.

shown that perpetrators often acted on their own initiative, and had much room to manoeuvre. Hitler's role in the decision-making process was one of absence rather than management.³⁷⁶ The previous distinction between notions as 'perpetrators' and 'society' therefore seems to have become much more fluid than before.³⁷⁷ Under the influence of scholars like Raul Hilberg and Saul Friedländer, the Holocaust has finally been analyzed in a more integrative way, dealing with both the perspectives of the perpetrators and of the victims. In recent years, many testimonies of victims – including survivors - of Nazi crimes have been published, offering the reader an insight in everyday life under National Socialist rule and focusing on individual and biographical horizons instead of reducing the individual experiences of Jews to their tragic collective destiny.³⁷⁸

Bajohr and Löw have claimed that four tendencies appear in contemporary Holocaust research: first, since the publication of Daniel Goldhagen's 'Hitler's Willing Executioners', Holocaust research has become more international, or even 'transnational'. Academic research has crossed borders, historians have become mutually influenced, and increasingly regard the Holocaust as a pan-European event. German Holocaust research as such, says Ulrich Herbert, has ceased to exist: the national debates about the Wehrmacht exhibitions were the last in a series of discussions that caused massive uproar in German public opinion. Since the late 1990s, Holocaust research has dealt with regional aspects of the genocide, especially in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, linking the Holocaust with other Nazi crimes in these regions such as the deliberate starvation of civilians and prisoners of war.³⁷⁹ Secondly, 'normalization' of the debate has ultimately occurred through differentiating Holocaust protagonists - most notably after the publications by Browning, Snyder and Polish historian Jan Gross.³⁸⁰ Thirdly, there is a shift in geographical perspective towards Eastern Europe, also with regard to the organization and execution of the Holocaust. The narrative of the relationship between the administrative center (Germany) and periphery (Eastern Europe) in this context has been adjusted or redefined. Finally, German Holocaust research is different from international Holocaust research: Germans ask themselves 'how could it happen?', while international Holocaust (victim-oriented) researchers ask themselves 'how could it happen to us?'.³⁸¹

In Dutch historiography on the Holocaust, some changes occurred after the 1983 inaugural lecture of historian Hans Blom. His approach changed the moral framework through which the Dutch experiences in WWII and therefore also the Holocaust was analyzed. Classical moral dichotomies (good/bad, repression/resistance) were slowly replaced by a more scholarly approach to historical thinking about WWII and the Holocaust. The notion of 'accommodation' emerged into the academic debate, methods and views from social studies were introduced, and three new topics were being researched: the attitude of the population during the war years, comparisons with other countries and the historical context of the war. Blom's plea for a change of perspective in various ways led to a 'normalization of the past'. There was no longer an urge to chronicle the Holocaust as a unique period in history, but instead, it was deemed preferable to analyze the event within a broader historical context. Finally, everyday life

³⁷⁶ Bajohr, 'Täterforschung: Ertrag, Probleme und Perspektiven', 171-172.

³⁷⁷ Bajohr and Löw (eds.), 'Tendenzen und Probleme der neueren Holocaust-Forschung: Eine Einführung', 11-12.

³⁷⁸ Herbert, 'Holocaust-Forschung in Deutschland', 54-57 and 62-63.

³⁷⁹ Idem, 63-64.

³⁸⁰ E.g. Gross, *Neighbors*.

³⁸¹ Bajohr and Löw, 'Tendenzen und Probleme der neueren Holocaust-Forschung: Eine Einführung', 10ff.

was examined, instead of mainly the elite and the national resistance movements. The portrayal of the Holocaust as a 'cat-and-mouse-game' between Jews and Germans was replaced by new models of analysis (Germans and Dutch authorities or a three-partite model of analysis: Jews, Germans and Dutch). In 1995, a study on the history of the Jews in the Netherlands was published, including an article by Romijn on Dutch Jews during WWII. He also offered a 'German-centered' perspective on the persecutions during the occupation, neglecting Dutch involvement and claiming that non-Jewish Dutchmen and the institutions 'could not bring themselves to massively rescue the Jews' or that the Dutch administration 'had not been able to save' them.³⁸² Blom's and Romijn's contributions to the academic debate raised new discussions on Dutch involvements during the persecutions, but like Herzberg's, Presser's and De Jong's interpretations they scarcely touched upon the full picture of Dutch antisemitism in relation to the Holocaust. It seemed as if 'it' was still a Jewish matter, Jewish history, 'seen and witnessed by non-Jews from a distance'.³⁸³

The gap between the increasingly 'normalized' historiography and perceptions of non-historians increased during the 1980s and 1990s. Emotions and moral judgments slowly disappeared from the academic debate, whereas moral sentiments and ideological criteria remained essential parts of schemes through which the Holocaust was being portrayed in other sections of society. Until the 1990s, and perhaps even until the present day, in education and public (non-academic) debates, the only alternative for the isolated position of the Holocaust in Dutch collective memory seems to be to diminish its unique character by contextualizing it into a broader analysis of racism, antisemitism or discrimination. Because of that perception, the Holocaust becomes more and more fragmented. Saul Friedländer explains this through the nature of this historical event itself; it is impossible to fully grasp, comprehend or understand the Holocaust. This is 'the unmasterable past'.³⁸⁴ In some ways, Dutch sociologist Abram de Swaan has tried to overcome this unmanageable aspect of the Holocaust by analyzing perpetrators in several genocidal situations. In *Compartimenten van Vernietiging* ('Compartments of Destruction') De Swaan analyzes eighteen genocides in history (e.g. the Holocaust, Cambodia and Rwanda). This transnational approach distinguishes him from other Dutch academics who wrote about the Holocaust. He criticizes Hannah Arendt's and Stanley Milgram's earlier observations that potentially everyone could become a murderer.³⁸⁵ De Swaan strongly contests their discourse about 'destructive obedience', claiming that although many of Milgram's subjects indeed obeyed to his orders to give electro shocks to innocent people, there was also a significant number who refused to comply with the experiment. De Swaan rightly points out that indeed circumstances (like the nature of a regime or the collective attitude of a society) play a large role in someone's inclination to commit murder, but that his or her individual disposition cannot be underestimated. In every genocide, De Swaan claims, there are 'eager perpetrators' – 'willing executioners' – as well as 'unwilling offenders' who either try to resist horrific orders or comply without thinking. The 'compartments of destruction' refer to the concept of compartmentalization, by which De Swaan understands the process in which groups of people are being separated into opposing categories. They become ideologically, socially and spatially segregated and often psychologically

³⁸² Romijn, 'De oorlog (1940-1945)', in Blom, Fuks-Mansfeld, Schöffers, *Geschiedenis van de Joden in Nederland*, 334 and 346.

³⁸³ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 41-45.

³⁸⁴ Idem, 50-51.

³⁸⁵ See Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*; Milgram, *Obedience to Authority*.

isolated. All societies are compartmentalized to some extent, but genocidal regimes – although they differ strongly – severely intensify this separation of people and institutions.³⁸⁶ In addition, the concept of ‘desidentification’ plays an important role in De Swaan’s analysis of genocides. Being the opposite of ‘identification’, this process causes societies to regard the ‘other’ as disruptively different. It is easier, he concludes, to become a murderer when ‘the other’ is defined and compartmentalized.³⁸⁷

One of the most notorious contributions to the ‘analysis of developments’ in the Netherlands during WWII was the 2001 publication *Grijs Verleden* (‘Grey Past’) by historian Chris van der Heijden. Since its first appearance, it was a highly contentious book. In his opening lines Van der Heijden made his message clear: ‘first there was the war, then the story of that war. The war was bad, but its story made it worse’.³⁸⁸ He refuted Loe de Jong’s thesis that the majority of the Dutch people during WWII had proved loyal nationalists, claiming that most Dutch were just ‘getting on with their lives’. They were neither collaborators, nor the brave resistance heroes De Jong had pictured. Especially during the first years of the German occupation, pre-war existence lingered on. And economically, Van der Heijden stated, it was very lucrative to serve the new rulers. After the publication of his work, Van der Heijden revealed that his parents had been members of the *NSB* and that his father had served in the *Waffen-SS*.³⁸⁹ *Grijs Verleden* proved to be the beginning of a ‘Dutch version of the *Historikerstreit*’, as historian and Jewish Studies scholar Evelien Gans evaluated the discussion in 2010. Normalization of the historiography of the Netherlands during WWII, she believed, meant the debates had to become ‘dislocated from raising mainly political-moral questions about collaboration and resistance’.³⁹⁰ Van der Heijden (later) raised fundamental questions about the unicity of the Holocaust, and compared the Nazi genocide with other mass murders. Comparisons with German historian Ernst Nolte were easily made: both had attempted to historicize WWII and especially the Holocaust, which – as some feared – could result in apologetic attitudes and forgetfulness with respect to the victims.

Like Goldhagen in Germany, Van der Heijden’s publication again opened up the space for the development of research into other relevant topics, like perceptions of the population during the German occupation, long term continuities in Dutch contemporary history or explanations for the highly ‘successful’ persecutions in the Netherlands. The 2004 dissertation by Croes and Tammes is an example of such research. They statistically assessed local percentages of Jews that survived during WWII by using the original registration lists as were assembled by the municipalities. Furthermore, they analyzed the influences of different agents (perpetrators, accomplices, collaborators, bystanders) on the survival rates in different municipalities. The importance of this study lies in the national character of the research; moving away from the focus of Amsterdam as the center of Jewish life in the Netherlands, Croes and Tammes analyzed all Dutch municipalities with at least one hundred Jewish inhabitants. One of their conclusions was that chances of survival as well as life expectancy of Jews decreased through the presence of (auxiliary) policemen in their localities.³⁹¹ A part

³⁸⁶ De Swaan, *Compartimenten van Vernietiging*, 121-126.

³⁸⁷ Idem, 248-264.

³⁸⁸ Van der Heijden, *Grijs verleden*, 9.

³⁸⁹ Zwagerman, ‘De eeuw van zijn vader’.

³⁹⁰ Gans, ‘Iedereen een beetje slachtoffer, iedereen een beetje dader’.

³⁹¹ Croes and Tammes, *Giflaten wij niet voortbestaan*.

from this, many publications have appeared which deal with local histories during the occupation.

Recently, the 2012 publication by Bart van der Boom, *‘Wij weten niets van hun lot’. Gewone Nederlanders en de Holocaust* (“We know nothing about their fate’. Ordinary Dutchmen and the Holocaust”) evoked much commotion.³⁹² Van der Boom tried to come up with answers to the question why so many Jews in the Netherlands had been deported. Was Dutch society more antisemitic than previously believed? For this purpose, Van der Boom analyzed 164 wartime diaries, kept by average Dutch citizens. Of these diaries, however, 53 were written by Jews, a disproportionate number with regard to all Jewish residents living in the Netherlands. Van der Boom's main conclusion is that ‘average Dutch citizens’ did not know about the fate of the deported Jews. They understood that their future looked grim, but did not know about their immediate destruction after arriving in the camps. The gas chambers were not heard of, otherwise, Van der Boom assumes, more Jews would supposedly have been saved by Dutch citizens. Through his work, Van der Boom refuted what he calls ‘the myth of the guilty bystander’: the mood among ordinary Dutchmen was fiercely anti-German and the anti-Jewish measures met with sharp disapproval. A minority of the diarists (about a quarter) expressed mild antisemitic prejudices.

In the years following this publication, many historians, journalists and others debated Van der Boom's findings, mainly in newspapers, magazines and blogs. Questions arose about the conceptualization and methodology of his research: diaries are not the most reliable of sources, and on top of this Van der Boom would have analyzed them ‘one-dimensionally’. Out of three thousand war diaries, he chose only 164, which aroused concerns about the reliability as well as the representativeness of his sources. Apart from this, Van der Boom mentions his ‘loose and carefree’ handling of the sources, which methodologically does not seem to be sustaining his generalizing conclusions.³⁹³ Had the Dutch ‘known’ about the gas chambers, he claims, they would have helped more Jews into hiding. This kind of speculation evoked much criticism; accurate definitions of ‘knowing’ and ‘knowledge’ seemed to be lacking in the book, and the author was accused of letting himself get ‘carried away by his optimistic world view, which does not help him in making a responsible evaluation of his research results’.³⁹⁴ Furthermore, his book was considered to be ‘levelling’, and ‘reducing the differences between victims and bystanders in positions, feelings and motives’. Also, Van der Boom was said by Gans and Ensel to have ‘neglected the Jewish perspective’ and to have reproduced the stereotypical image of Jews as passive victims.³⁹⁵ This second part of the Dutch version of the *Historikerstreit* – apart from serious scientific criticism – also seemed to deal with the recognition of Jewish victimhood in relation to the alleged passivity of non-Jewish bystanders in the Netherlands. Even seventy years after the end of the war, the emotional discussions that followed the publication of *‘Wij weten niets van hun lot’* had touched the ‘open nerve’ of national postwar struggling with WWII and the Holocaust in the Netherlands.³⁹⁶

One of the most recent Dutch publications is *Duitse daders* (‘German Perpetrators’) by historian Frits Boterman (2015). Among other things, the key question

³⁹² Van der Boom, *‘Wij weten niets van hun lot’*.

³⁹³ Idem, 116.

³⁹⁴ Ensel and Gans, *We know something of their fate*.

³⁹⁵ Idem, 7-8.

³⁹⁶ See for more discussions Van der Boom's blog-page: <http://wijwetennietsvanhunlot.blogspot.fr/p/het-debat.html> (last consulted 27-10-2015).

in this book is how and why the Germans succeeded in deporting and killing the relatively high percentage (75%) of Jews from the Netherlands. Boterman comes up with six explanations: first of all, the efficiency and repressiveness of the German regime in the Netherlands has contributed to the 'success' of fulfilling Nazi ideology. The Dutch were ruled by a police state, Boterman claims, under the disguise of a civil administration. Secondly, many Dutch collaborated with the Germans, ranging from active contributions by Dutch fascists and anti-Bolshevists to 'defensive' cooperation by civil servants and business representatives. Thirdly, the Jewish community was hardly prepared for the German repression and were sometimes – as in the case of the Jewish Council – pressed to cooperate more than they in retrospect should have done.³⁹⁷ The fourth reason was the relatively slow start of the resistance movement in the Netherlands; when coordination for helping Jews and others was starting to improve, it was already too late for most of them. Due to the fact that the economic situation in the Netherlands remained fairly good up until the winter of 1944-1945, most Dutch complied with the new situation. Finally, Boterman states that most Dutchmen knew that Jews were deported, but the inconceivability of the outcome of these repressive measures led to overall passivity. This argument does not seem to be fully convincing: there was resistance during the war, but mainly in response to the intensification of labor deployment and the renewed captivity of Dutch soldiers in 1943, when hundreds of thousands of their 'own boys' were forced to work in Germany. The conclusion therefore seems to be that the vast majority of the Dutch did not revolt against the Holocaust because they did not feel related to their Jewish fellow citizens.³⁹⁸

2.4 Conclusion

Until the 1990s historians in Germany, the Netherlands and elsewhere, still concentrated on the question *why* the Holocaust happened. Through the work of some German historians, most notably Martin Broszat and Hans Mommsen (as well as the American historian Karl A. Schleunes), the 'structuralist' view on the Holocaust became increasingly visible: these historians 'refurbished' the debates on Nazi crimes by emphasizing the dynamic aspects of the processes in 1941/1942 (the so-called *kumulative Radikalisierung* or 'cumulative radicalization' of the process of mass murder) and diminishing the special importance or prominence of Hitler in the decision making process. Equally important is the fact that contextualizing the Holocaust within other Nazi crimes and genocidal acts in Eastern Europe paved the way for further research into different groups of offenders and into interdependencies of the events in German occupied Europe.³⁹⁹

The 'war of interpretations' that followed during the 1980s still offered little space for the victims of the Holocaust. Just like the majority of the perpetrators, they were barely presented as real human beings.⁴⁰⁰ Testimonies by victims were supposed to be 'too subjective, mythical or even unreliable'.⁴⁰¹ However, new empirical studies followed and enriched West German historiography with specific research into everyday life

³⁹⁷ See for more Michman, 'De oprichting van de Joodsche Raad voor Amsterdam'.

³⁹⁸ See Boterman, *Duitse daders*, 16-31 and <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/04/01/bij-joden-keek-men-liever-weg-1602258-a1093774> (last consulted 18-11-2016).

³⁹⁹ Herbert, 'Holocaust-Forschung in Deutschland', 44.

⁴⁰⁰ Idem, 45.

⁴⁰¹ Idem, 61-62.

under National Socialist rule, therewith increasingly contextualizing the Holocaust within the racist history of the Nazis and their forerunners. Yet, as Herbert has mentioned, recent Holocaust research in Germany and elsewhere is still focused on the perpetrators: ranging from studying the lives, ideological viewpoints, attitudes, actions and motives of the political leaders of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* down to the 'ordinary men' of police battalions and the *Einsatzgruppen*.

It was a media event which gave the decisive impetus for change: the US television series 'Holocaust' that was broadcast in 1979 in the Federal Republic found an enormous response. More than 20 million Germans saw the series, approximately half of the adult population. The effect of the series 'Holocaust' on the West German public as well as for the development of academic historical research was enormous. It induced Martin Broszat to speak of 'undeniable shortcomings of German historiography in the treatment of the Holocaust'. The large number of publications in 1988, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the November pogrom of 1938, already indicated that the perspective had changed. The Holocaust, as Hans Mommsen stated in retrospect, was 'the central paradigm of treatment of the third Reich'.⁴⁰²

In recent years, the perspective of the victims has been emphasized more thoroughly. The research of the past two decades has assessed how the Nazi regime pursued its racist ideology with regard to the Jews, Sinti and Roma, handicapped and sick people, so-called anti-social elements, homosexuals and several other groups. Under the responsibility of the Wehrmacht more than three million Soviet prisoners of war also died because they were abandoned with murderous intent starvation.⁴⁰³

In the Netherlands, since the 1980s, the call for more distancing and less moralizing became a recurrent aspect of Dutch historiography of WWII. Especially the monumental work of De Jong was increasingly criticized by historians such as Blom, Bank and Van der Heijden. The traditional dichotomy 'collaboration and resistance' was reconsidered and complemented with the adagio that most of the Dutch had adjusted in all variations'. In this sense, the Dutch process of coming to terms with the legacy of WWII and the Holocaust has entered the realm of 'normalization'. Yet in contrast to the German debate, Dutch historiography has remained relatively silent on the subject of perpetrators. Only through a small number of publications, most notably after Romijn's and Tames' studies on the dilemma's and social contexts of Dutch collaboration,⁴⁰⁴ scholars have finally begun the systematic research of the topic. With the opening up of Eastern European archives, many new facts and insights into ethnic cleansing, refugees, mass murder and genocide have led to a historical revisionism in the aftermath of the *Historikerstreit*: by many German researchers, the Holocaust and the simultaneous events are being witnessed more and more from a European perspective. Generally speaking, this does not apply to Dutch historiography. In the Netherlands, the persecution of the Jews is still being 'discovered', so it seems. Blom's plea for a more scientific method of research into the Holocaust has led to a new form of isolation: academic historical analyses and discussions hardly contributed to Holocaust-debates in other sections of society. These scientific approaches and discussions have only recently penetrated into public awareness and education.⁴⁰⁵ In this sense, Boterman's account on what happened during the war in the Netherlands proves that – as historian Ewoud

⁴⁰² Wildt, *Die Epochenzäsur 1989/90 und die NS-Historiographie*, 354.

⁴⁰³ Idem, 360-361.

⁴⁰⁴ Romijn, *Burgemeesters in oorlogstijd*; Tames, *Besmette Jeugd*.

⁴⁰⁵ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 41-45.

Kieft has put it 'a moralizing tone is not necessary when it comes to describing the Holocaust. A clear overview of the facts is enough'.⁴⁰⁶

The separation between Jews and non-Jews, however, continues to be present in the historical debate in the Netherlands. While the attention for (Jewish) victimhood is still somewhat disregarded in Dutch historiography, the engagement with the victims of WWII persecutions in the public sphere has increased enormously. According to Frank van Vree, this new cult of victimizing the Holocaust conceals the true and complex historic context of the war by focusing on (fictionalized) individual stories which can lead to an evaporation of analytical insights. This, he believes, is dangerous because the notion of 'victim' can be prolonged endlessly and may lead to an universalization of Holocaust memory and a banalization of real historical events. Instead, human rights become the idealized basis for a new global order.⁴⁰⁷ Historic awareness that is centered on emotions and individualities is easily manipulated and hardly contributes to the analysis of developments that have led to war and destruction.⁴⁰⁸

In both countries public debates on the Holocaust diverged from academic discussions.⁴⁰⁹ The Goldhagen-debates, discussions on the *Wehrmacht*-exhibition as well as modern media representations – most dominantly the 1978-1979 American television series *Holocaust*, Claude Lanzmann's documentary film *Shoah* in 1985 and Spielberg's feature film *Schindler's List* in 1993 – showed that an open discourse on the Nazi past increasingly involved non-academic contributors. These popular portrayals also had a great impact on history education, including history textbooks.

In the following chapter I will describe the most important aspects of (West) German and Dutch education systems since 1945, and the place of history education. Developments in the history curricula of both countries (especially the rise of contemporary history), as well as pedagogical and didactical debates and changes within the context of this analysis of Holocaust narratives in history textbooks will be discussed.

⁴⁰⁶ <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/04/01/bij-joden-keek-men-liever-weg-1602258-a1093774> (last consulted 18-11-2016).

⁴⁰⁷ Van Vree, 'Door de ogen van de slachtoffers', 4-5.

⁴⁰⁸ Idem, 9.

⁴⁰⁹ Dassen et al., *Duitsers als slachtoffers*, 25.

3. National Education Politics and History Education in (West) Germany and the Netherlands after 1945

In this chapter I will outline main features and characteristics of (West) German and Dutch education systems since 1945. The aim of this chapter is to provide important context information to be able to answer the research question about Holocaust narratives in German and Dutch history textbooks between 1960 and 2010. I will start by explaining briefly the educational infrastructures in both countries. As my research deals with history textbooks in secondary education, I focus mainly on developments within that educational field. Furthermore, I will demonstrate what major developments in education politics in general and history education in particular have contributed to the evolution of history education in (West) Germany – with special attention to North Rhine-Westphalia - and the Netherlands between 1945 and 2010. Special attention will be given to the emerging status of ‘contemporary history’ in the curricula in both countries, as well as to sometimes heated debates on the function of history education and the history curriculum in (West) Germany and the Netherlands. This will sometimes be contextualized beyond the research period between 1960 and 2010. I will portray main developments in (West) German and Dutch history education with regard to WWII and the Holocaust. Through analyzing and contextualizing international research on how multi-national historic events like WWII and the Holocaust are represented in the curricula and history textbooks in both countries, I will convey the underlying agendas that have defined the selection of information in history education in (West) Germany and the Netherlands.

3.1 Educational infrastructure

(West) Germany

In the Federal Republic of Germany, education curricula are being developed by the separate states as an expression of their cultural sovereignty. Therefore, parts of the education system can be quite different from state to state both in design and designation. In 1969, the federal government in Bonn assumed some authority over education, which had previously been entirely under the jurisdiction of the then eleven federal states. The federal government increased uniformity and standardization in vocational training and the *Abitur*, the university admission qualifying test. Since then, the education system is nationally organized in five stages: primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education, and tertiary (universities and graduate schools) and quaternary (adult education).⁴¹⁰ After the Allied reforms of the German educational system in 1946 (see §3.2) the main features of earlier education were retained, like the dual system of vocational training and general education. The *Abitur* remained the final examination that certified university admission for students. The old six year *Gymnasium* remained intact, as well as the *Realschule* (six years of secondary education preparing for technical professions, civil servants and other administrative employees). New in West Germany (from the 1950s onwards) was the *Hauptschule* (four years of lower secondary education). The majority of

⁴¹⁰ Erdmann and Hasberg, ‘Historical Culture’, 309-310.

(West) German youngsters left full-time schooling around the age of fifteen with this *Hauptschulabschluss* (87.7% of all West German students attended this type of education in 1970, and 54,9% in 2000⁴¹¹) and continued with mandatory part-time education until the age of 18, while working or participating in a vocational training program.⁴¹² In 2014, around twenty-five percent of all German students attended the *Gymnasium* level of education, which specializes in either modern languages, ancient languages (Greek and Latin), mathematics and the natural sciences, the arts, or humanities.⁴¹³

Since the Reunification in 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany consists of sixteen federal states, eleven in the West (Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland Palatinate, the Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein, and the three city-states—Hamburg, Bremen, and Berlin) and five ‘new’ states (Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia) that formerly made up the German Democratic Republic. In 2015, there were over 752,000 teachers in 52,400 secondary schools educating more than twelve million students in Germany; in North Rhine Westphalia there were over 169,000 teachers in 2014.⁴¹⁴ Migrant children have always been a part of the student population: twelve million refugees who were expelled from German territories in Eastern Europe in 1945, Turkish (and other) ‘guest workers’ in the 1960s and 1970s, over 4,5 million *Aussiedler* from eastern Europe⁴¹⁵ and mixed groups of refugees in more recent years.

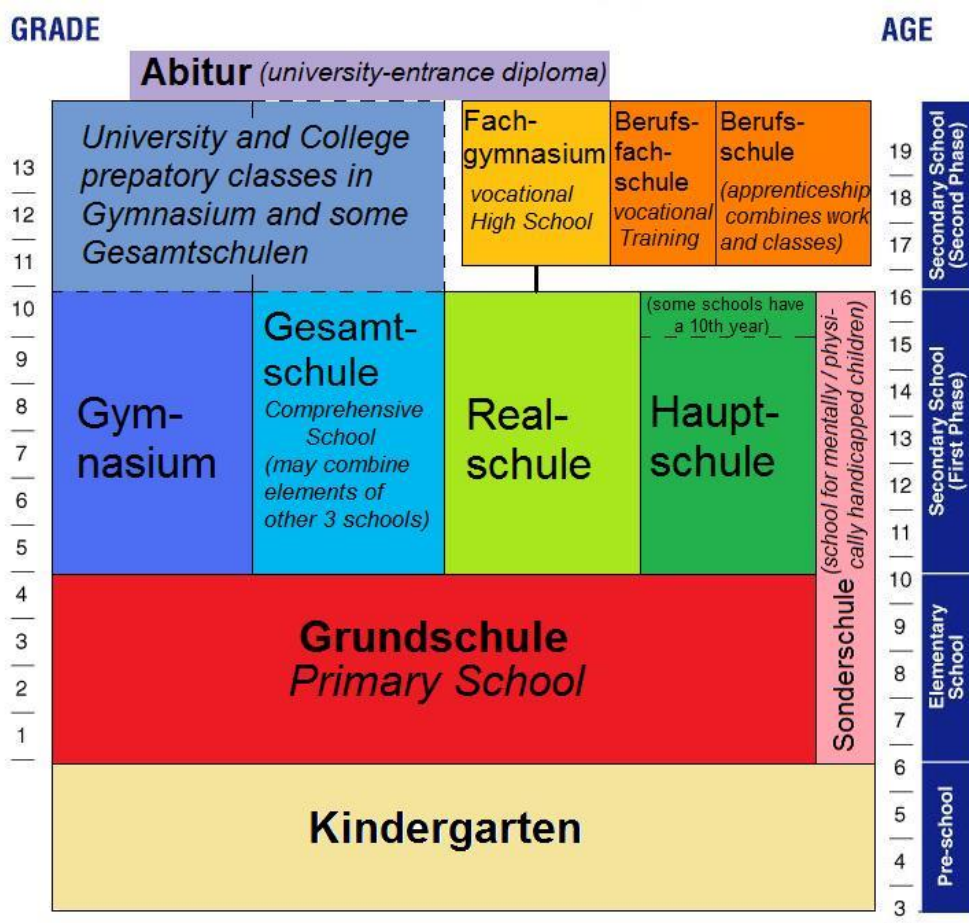
⁴¹¹ Frietsch, “‘Intensivierung’ von Bildungsabschlüssen zwischen 1970-2000’.

⁴¹² Toebe, *Geschiedenis: een Vak Apart?*, 38.

⁴¹³ <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/522/Germany-SECONDARY-EDUCATION.html> (last consulted 5-9-2015).

⁴¹⁴ <http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/201496/umfrage/anzahl-der-lehrer-in-deutschland-nach-bundeslaendern/> (last consulted 5-9-2015).

⁴¹⁵ *Aussiedler* are ‘ethnic Germans’ from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. After the collapse of the communist regimes in the region, they have become the largest immigrant group in the Federal Republic of Germany. By definition, the Interior Ministry refers to them as ‘persons of German origin who have suffered in Eastern and Southeastern Europe as well as in the Soviet Union from the effects of WWII and who were severely persecuted for decades after the war because of their ethnicity’. See <http://mediendienst-integration.de/migration/wer-kommt-wer-geht.html> (last consulted 5-9-2015).

Table 3.1: German Education System (2015)⁴¹⁶

The secondary phase or *Sekundarstufe II* in the educational system of Germany includes the upper grades of Gymnasiums and comprehensive schools and leads to the *Abitur* (university admission assessments). From the beginning, there were substantive and organizational differences between the states: in some mathematics, German and history were (are) mandatory, in others they were (are) optional. Sometimes, the *Sekundarstufe II* includes grades 10 to 12, or (as in Bavaria) 11 and 12. In the extended version it includes grades 11 to 13. In North Rhine Westphalia the *Sekundarstufe II* or *gymnasiale Oberstufe* takes three years: one year of orientation and then two years of 'qualification'. In 2004, the 9th year of the gymnasium was skipped, justified by the alleged necessity of a 'more responsible approach to the life of our children'.⁴¹⁷ Students have to achieve an average of 34 hours per week, and choose three subjects from each of the determined categories: languages, literature and arts (1), social sciences (2) and mathematics, natural sciences and technology (3). History is together with Law, Geography, Social Sciences, Philosophy, Education and Psychology one of the social sciences.⁴¹⁸

The council of education ministers of the various states, the *Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (KMK), coordinates and

⁴¹⁶ <https://blog.willamette.edu/worldnews/2015/04/29/the-german-education-system-and-the-childrens-garden/> (last consulted 25-3-2017). See also Erdmann and Hasberg, 'Historical Culture', 309.

⁴¹⁷ <https://www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/Schulpolitik/G8/index.html> (alst consulted 18-2-2017).

⁴¹⁸ <http://www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/bp/index.html> (last consulted 7-9-2015).

discusses national standards for education.⁴¹⁹ In 1990 the KMK developed new standards for teacher education. It was agreed that all German teachers who teach at *Realschulen* or *Gymnasiums*, need to have academic training and specializations in at least two subjects. After that, they take a qualifying examination, work for two years under supervision as *Referendar* (trainee teacher), and then have a second state examination. As mentioned above, requirements for teacher education differ from state to state. The result is that teachers who have been qualified in Hamburg for instance, will not be allowed to teach at a school in the Saarland.⁴²⁰

Teacher training for all types of schools in Germany is regulated by the states. Training for lower-secondary teachers takes places at universities⁴²¹ lasting 3,5–4,5 years with two further years of practical training in schools. For upper-secondary school teachers, training takes 4,5 years at university, with a further 2.5 years of practical training in a school setting. For all teaching careers, the *Vorbereitungsdienst* ('preparatory service') is the second stage of teacher training, following higher education. Depending on the *Bundesland* and the type of teaching career, it varies in length from 18 to 24 months and places emphasis on different areas. It involves developing lesson plans, practical training and studying educational theory and subject-related didactics.⁴²²

Responsibility for teacher training rests with the Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs of the *Länder*, which regulate training through study regulations and examination regulations. Examinations (First and Second *Staatsprüfung*) are conducted by the state examination authorities or boards of the *Länder*.

With the introduction of the Bachelor/Master-programs in North Rhine Westphalia in 2011, the teacher training program became integrated with – in this case – the history curriculum, all module programs being of the same duration. This intensification of the study of history didactics tried to overcome the difficulty that because of their solid academic training, German teachers have been focusing too much on the content of their subjects.⁴²³ With the changing composition of German school classes or of the changing nature of the twenty-first century pupils being less academically inclined, the craft of transmitting that knowledge seemed to have been somewhat disregarded.

Most German teachers are publicly employed by a government body (e.g. the state) and therefore have reached the status of *Beamte* ('civil servant'). These 600,000 teachers represent the state, which offers them certain benefits in salary, employment contract, pension or health insurances. *Beamten*-teachers cannot be fired. But because of this, they have been denied the right to strike. Some 200,000 teachers, however, are employed as *Angestellte* ('normal staff in the public sector'), who earn less and have less legal certainty.⁴²⁴ And although in the last decades, the PISA⁴²⁵-results of German education

⁴¹⁹ Heinink and Braaksma, 'Onderwijsontwikkeling in Europees perspectief', 120-124.

⁴²⁰ <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/522/Germany-SECONDARY-EDUCATION.html> (last consulted 5-9-2015).

⁴²¹ The only exception is the state of Baden-Württemberg where future teachers are trained at *Pädagogische Hochschulen* ('pedagogical universities of applied sciences') (see Erdmann and Hasberg, 'Historical Culture', 311).

⁴²² Erdmann and Hasberg, 'Historical Culture', 297 and http://www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/bp/Lehrer/Termine/Veranstaltungen/2016_02-Februar/didacta2016/didacta_Themen/FAQ4/index.html (last consulted 5-6-2016).

⁴²³ Erdmann and Hasberg, 'Historical Culture', 297.

⁴²⁴ <http://oeffentlicher-dienst.info/> (last consulted 5-9-2015).

⁴²⁵ The 'Program for International Student Assessment' (PISA) is a triennial international survey organized by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). PISA evaluates education systems worldwide by testing skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students. In 2015, education

were relatively poor, the conservative status of the German system provides little incentive to modernize teacher training, or use new instructional media and computer technology.⁴²⁶

The Netherlands

The Dutch education system is based on two traditional pillars: freedom to establish schools and financial equality of all school types. Both are recorded in the Constitution and can be traced back to early twentieth century struggles between several religious and ideological denominations within Dutch society. This compartmentalization of society has led to a likewise compartmentalized school system which, in moderated ways, still exists today. Although their denominational characters are not always visible any more, there still are catholic, Dutch reformed or Calvinist schools. Traditionally, government interference with the education system was relatively low; continuity in the development of the school system was the decisive element. Since the 1960s, however, the government increasingly issued clear guidelines for education with regard to social developments: it became an instrument to create a different society. The most pronounced goals were to achieve more equal opportunities in all forms of education and to provide access to higher levels of education for larger groups of students.⁴²⁷ Nowadays, the government's role is focusing on supervision of the education quality e.g. through audits and national examinations. The funding is partly linked to the results of the quality assessments. Parents and students are free to choose schools that fit their religion and/or (pedagogical) ideology. In 2015, about twenty-eight percent of Dutch students in primary and secondary education attended community schools that are funded and organized by the state. The vast majority (over 71%) went to special schools that are founded and organized by individuals, church institutions bodies or foundations in order to fulfill particular ideological, religious, social, or educational visions.⁴²⁸ These schools (e.g. Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Islamic, Montessori, Dalton or Anthroposophical schools) are also financed by the government. Finally, there are private schools, which are commercially delivered (through higher tuition fees) and therefore not eligible for government funding. Although certificates issued by private schools are not validated by the Dutch Ministry of Education, this type of education has established a good reputation.

In 2015, some 61,600 teachers worked in 624 schools for secondary education.⁴²⁹ Over 400,000 students attended upper grades of secondary education in the Netherlands. Of those, over 122,700 (30,6%) chose pre-university level VWO (grades 4, 5 and 6), almost 118,300 (29,5%) students attended HAVO ('General Higher Secondary Education') (grades 4 and 5) and 160,000 VMBO (39,9%) ('Prevocational Secondary Education') (grades 3 and 4).⁴³⁰ According to surveys among 15-year olds from migrant families, almost 14,000

in over seventy countries has been evaluated (<http://www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/pisafaq.htm>) (last consulted 18-11-2016).

⁴²⁶ Erdmann and Hasberg, 'Historical Culture', 323-324 and <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/526/Germany-TEACHING-PROFESSION.html#ixzz3krKh01Sy> (last consulted 8-9-2015).

⁴²⁷ Boekholt and De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 295.

⁴²⁸ <http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=03753&LA=NL> (last consulted 25-9-15).

⁴²⁹ www.onderwijsin cijfers.nl/kengetallen/voortgezet-onderwijs/personeelvo/personielssterkte-en-functiemix-vo (last consulted 8-1-2017).

⁴³⁰ www.onderwijsin cijfers.nl/kengetallen/voortgezet-onderwijs/deelnemersvo/leerlingen-aantallen (last consulted 17-1-2017).

students of non-western descent attended the third year of secondary education in 2014 (compared to 35,000 students of western descent and 169,000 native Dutch students).⁴³¹

Teacher training for secondary education in the Netherlands is delivered on two levels. First there are four-year programs at a *Hogere Beroepsopleiding* (HBO, or Universities of Applied Sciences) where students can obtain a 'second degree' qualification. These teachers work at the lower levels of HAVO and VWO secondary education, as well as the entire VMBO and MBO ('senior secondary vocational education and training'). To be allowed to teach in upper general secondary education one has to obtain a 'first degree' qualification. This can be obtained by following university studies at master's level, or after having completed a second degree-training in education in the respective school subject followed by a postgraduate course in education. Before 1998, the majority of Dutch teachers were trained through state examinations, obtaining either a 3rd degree certificate ('LO-akte', for lower levels of secondary education), a 2nd degree certificate ('MO-A-akte' for HAVO/VWO and entire MBO) or 1st degree ('MO-B-akte', for the entire secondary education and HBO). Through all kinds of educational reforms (mainly the proposed integration between profession (e.g. history) and occupation (e.g. teaching), the MO-teacher training programs were dismantled in the 1970s and replaced by new teacher training programs (*NLO*).⁴³² In these courses future teachers were trained in two subjects, one main and one auxiliary course. At these teacher training programs in particular, but also at university teacher training, a stronger emphasis on educational aspects of teaching was introduced.⁴³³

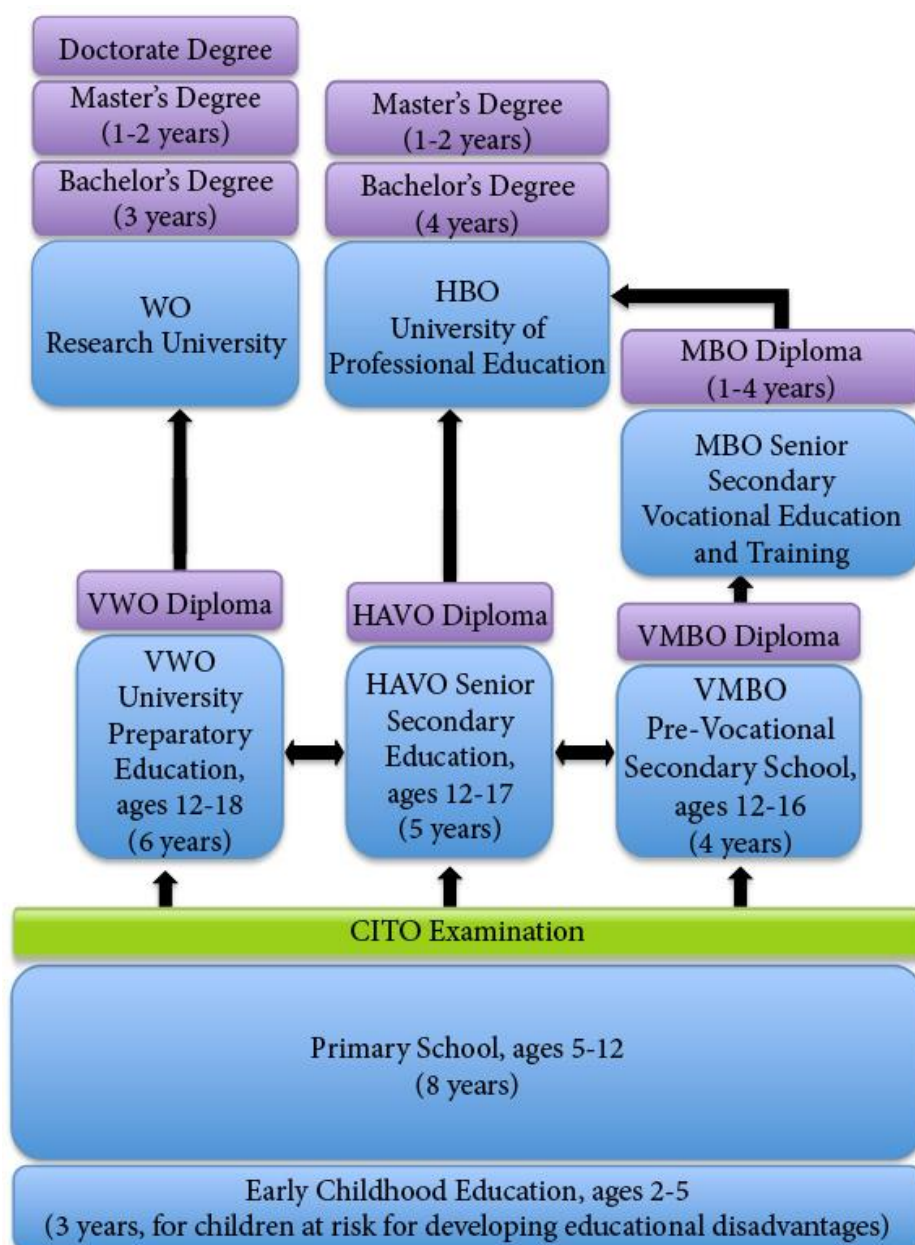
Policy makers longed for a shift in secondary education teacher training, as they conceived traditional teachers as being too conservative, functioning as transmitters of knowledge rather than of facilitators of learning. This alleged depreciation of traditional knowledge or expertise and the experimental nature of the new teacher training programs offered a 'threat to the intellectual autonomy of the teacher'. However, the creation of the NLO's marked a new beginning in the teaching training. It now became a full time course in two subjects with the central objective of 'professionalization' through integration of expert knowledge and didactics.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ www.onderwijsincijfers.nl/kengetallen/voortgezet-onderwijs/deelnemersvo/leerlingen-in-het-derde-leerjaar (last consulted 8-3-2016).

⁴³² Vos, 'De opleiding voor de akte van het Middelbaar Onderwijs tot omstreeks 1980', 25-26.

⁴³³ Boekholt and De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 290-291.

⁴³⁴ Vos, 'De opleiding voor de akte van het Middelbaar Onderwijs tot omstreeks 1980', 24-26.

Table 3.2: Dutch Educational System up to University Level (2015)⁴³⁵

3.2 History education

(West-)Germany

In May 1945, after the unconditional surrender of the German troops, German history seemed to be in a state of confusion. Historical events and persons, who only days before had been at the proud center of official National Socialist history, now were like – in the words of a newspaper at the time - *Wellenbergen auf dem dunklen Meer des deutschen Schicksals* ('tidal waves in the dark ocean of German destiny').⁴³⁶ When, in 1947, the state of Prussia was formally dissolved, it seemed as if the allies deliberately removed the

⁴³⁵ <http://www.ncee.org/programs-affiliates/center-on-international-education-benchmarking/top-performing-countries/netherlands-overview/> (last consulted 30-3-2017).

⁴³⁶ Wolfrum, *Geschichte als Waffe*, 57.

platform on which a continuous thread of German nationalism, militarism and aggressive foreign policy had manifested themselves. According to historian A.J.P. Taylor in 1945 it was 'no more a mistake for the German people to end up with Hitler than it is an accident when a river flows into the sea'.⁴³⁷ The educational infrastructure in Germany also needed to be reorganized after the disarray of the war years and the ideological confinement during National Socialism. Although the Allied Control Council⁴³⁸ tried to implement democracy education of the German youth, the old pre-war educational institutions were restored. Divergent viewpoints on education in France, Britain and the United States made it hardly possible to initiate a uniform model in Germany's western zone. But some changes were made to improve democratic standards of the system, one of which was reducing or eliminating the cost of textbooks and school materials. The first textbooks that were used were reprints of some that were used during the Weimar-years.

History education in particular was open to debate. Many teachers had been trained under National Socialist rule. Some (anti-Nazi) German history teachers after 1945 even practiced forms of self-censorship, questioning the correctness of their own beliefs with regard to historical matters. They felt reluctant to express themselves on political issues, regarding themselves as *gebrannte Kinder* ('scorched children').⁴³⁹ After a period of reflection where the topic of history was omitted from the curriculum, western Allies re-introduced history education in West German schools in 1949. In the same year, the Association of History Teachers in Germany (*Verband der Geschichtslehrer Deutschlands e.V.*) was re-established (the original Association was founded in 1913).⁴⁴⁰ Historian and education specialist Georg Eckert was the first treasurer of the Association. In 1951 Eckert founded the international textbook institute that now bears his name.⁴⁴¹

History education in the early post-war years in West Germany consisted mainly of cultural history with strong normative features. The famous phrase from Cicero's *De Oratore*: 'historia magistra vitae (est)', or 'history is the teacher of life' still had common ground in German gymnasiums. There was a lot about 'life' to be learned in post-war Germany, but that was not the 'life' that was meant here. The critical approach that would characterize history education in later years, did not fit with the depoliticized 'escape' into *Traditionssicherung* ('consolidation of traditional virtues').⁴⁴² Perhaps exemplary of the difficulties with regard to the implementation and organization of history education in post-Nazi Germany were the viewpoints of Erich Weniger (1894-1961), professor of pedagogy at different universities and nowadays regarded as one of the most prominent educational specialists in Germany. Before the war he had worked for the *Wehrmacht* where he developed military education materials (e.g. the 1938 publication *Wehrmachtserziehung und Kriegserfahrung* ('Army Education and Combat Experience')).⁴⁴³ As an officer, Weniger had served in the *Wehrmacht* during the 1941 Soviet campaign, and in 1944 in France. In the same year he became *Nationalsozialistischer Führungsoffizier* (NSFO). These 'National Socialist leading officers' had no military commissions, but were

⁴³⁷ Wolfrum, *Geschichte als Waffe*, 59.

⁴³⁸ The Allied Control Council was the (military) governing body of the occupied zones in Germany after WWII. The Council consisted of delegates from the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom (France joined the Council later). After the Soviet delegate left the Council in 1948 after disagreements, the three western powers installed the Allied High Commission to organize and control developments in the Federal Republic.

⁴³⁹ Messerschmidt, 'Die Aufgabe der Politischen Bildungsarbeit der Schule', 37.

⁴⁴⁰ <http://www.geschichtslehrerverband.org/index.php?id=29> (last consulted 4-9-2015).

⁴⁴¹ <http://www.gei.de/home.html> (last consulted 4-9-2015).

⁴⁴² Toebe, *Geschiedenis: een vak apart?*, 38-40.

⁴⁴³ Weniger, *Wehrmachtserziehung und Kriegserfahrung*.

given political or educational tasks. After the war, Weniger repeatedly pleaded for reintroduction of history as a topic in German schools, including political education of young people. It seemed appropriate, according to Weniger, that the German nation, through historical self-reflection, could attain 'new senses of togetherness and responsibility for establishing a democratic future'.⁴⁴⁴ In his 1981 dissertation, Dutch didactic expert J.G. Toebes was moderately positive about Weniger's contribution to the reintroduction of history education in West Germany. Toebes claims that Weniger believed that school history could not be restricted to the sheer antiquarian transfer of culture and humanism, but that political orientation ought to be part of it.⁴⁴⁵ Weniger, however, rejected the incorporation of contemporary historical topics, claiming that *Tagesfragen* ('contemporary issues') would have to bring about party politics, which he – and many like him in those days – abhorred. In his 1959/1960 publication *Die Epoche der Umerziehung 1945-1949* ('The Period of Reeducation 1945-1949'), however, other concerns appear. Here, Weniger criticized the Allied Reeducation programs, claiming that these had only contained 'punitive measures against the German people', and that the Allied victors had equated 'Germanness with National Socialism'. The German military tradition for Weniger was something to be proud of, claiming that forcing the unconditional surrender of the German *Wehrmacht* had been a 'mistake'. The *Wehrmacht* had been 'an oasis for free people', and Weniger considered it to be wrong when one treated 'all joyful bellicose activity as militarism'. He continues: 'one should have had confidence in the self-cleaning ability' of the majority of the German people instead of forcing them into a post-military society or to 'fill in questionnaires about their Nazi-past'. Weniger metaphorically spoke of Reeducation as a 'cancerous growth of the denazification process'. And he claimed he was not alone in his discontent: emigrants who returned to the 'motherland', even the 'Jews, who had to forgive and forget a lot, like the destruction of close relatives in Auschwitz, also resisted Allied Reeducation'.⁴⁴⁶ It seems clear that for this man, who was brought up with nationalist, conservative and military traditions, contemporary issues would have been much too troublesome to incorporate in history education.⁴⁴⁷

The German post war notion of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* ('overcoming the past'), generally refers to a problematic preoccupation with historical dimensions of National Socialism and the Holocaust presupposing German responsibility and guilt. German medievalist Hermann Heimpel (1901-1988) is believed to have coined the concept of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.⁴⁴⁸ Heimpel had partly made his career under National Socialist rule, and succeeded in 1935 his highly esteemed tutor Hermann Hellmann at Leipzig university. Hellmann died in Theresienstadt in 1942. In 1941 Heimpel was appointed at the *Reichsuniversität* Strasbourg, unofficially referred to as the 'National Socialist Combat University of Strasbourg' (NS-Kampf Universität Straßburg). Heimpel's position under Nazi-rule is difficult to judge; some considered him a 'sympathizer' or a 'cyclical activist', but not a confident Hitler-supporter. In the 1950s, he was even mentioned as possible candidate for the office of *Bundespräsident*.⁴⁴⁹ Nevertheless, history proved hard on Heimpel; increasingly hampered by depressions, he privately became inclined to 'protestant penitence' and publicly in need for overcoming the past.⁴⁵⁰ This *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* was aiming at reconciliation of the German people with their

⁴⁴⁴ Weniger, 'Die Epoche der Umerziehung 1945-1949', 404-407.

⁴⁴⁵ Toebes, *Geschiedenis: een vak apart?*, 43.

⁴⁴⁶ Weniger, *Neue Wege im Geschichtsunterricht*, 28-29 and 40.

⁴⁴⁷ See also Ortmeyer, 'Erich Weniger und die NS-Zeit'.

⁴⁴⁸ Berg, *Der Holocaust und die westdeutschen Historiker*, 241.

⁴⁴⁹ Schulz-Hageleit, 'Können wir die Vergangenheit "bewältigen"?', 114.

⁴⁵⁰ Berg, *Der Holocaust und die westdeutschen Historiker*, 245.

history, and with themselves. In this context, Heimpel can be seen as representative for the *zeitgeist* of his times. 'Using' history as a possible restorative force might lead to distracting from its darkest sides. In this sense, it is not always easy to distinguish personal repentance from collective shame.⁴⁵¹

Weniger and Heimpel were not the only ones who were troubled by the Nazi-stain on Germany's history. Many historians believed – and not only in Germany - that 'objective history' required distancing from the past. In the still dominant and mostly conservative *Bildungs*-tradition,⁴⁵² history education ought to provide facts about political history as well as represent humanist and political ideals through which students would be able to acquire general knowledge and also develop capabilities for moral judgment and critical thinking. Contemporary history was considered not yet to be fully purified by science and therefore not suitable for *Bildung*.⁴⁵³ During the years of the Cold War, however, events in East-Berlin (1953), Hungary (1956), or the building of the Berlin Wall (1961) led to an increasing appreciation for contemporary history, especially through media influences. It was felt that students ought to know more about the background of totalitarianism – mostly anti-communist of course. In 1961 therefore, the *Kultusministerkonferenz* ('the assembly of ministers of education of all West German states') specifically advised to incorporate the era between 1917 and 1945 in the history curriculum.⁴⁵⁴

During the 1960s, new generations began to question the unaffectedness of history as *Lehrmeisterin der sozialen Wirklichkeit* ('teacher of social reality'). The 1968 APO-generation (*Außerparlamentarische Opposition* or 'opposition outside parliament') demanded a revision of the traditional 'bourgeois' character of history. The relevance of the historical research for contemporary topics was contested: it seemed as if the upcoming and heavily politicized social sciences were more suited for this matter than conservative and *Bildungs*-oriented history.⁴⁵⁵ Even at the placid university of Heidelberg students demonstrated against this 'monopoly of middle class history' by throwing eggs at rector Werner Conze and trying to force him to wear a *Pickelhaube* (spiked helmet from the Wilhelminian period) (see for more on Conze §4.1).⁴⁵⁶

The discussion on the content of history education obtained new impulses after the German *Historikertag* (history conference) held in Cologne in 1970. Its main theme was *Wozu noch Geschichte?* ('Why still History?'), later amended for publication by social historian Jürgen Kocka. History education in West Germany at the beginning of the 1970s was in a state of crisis; some even pleaded for abolishment of the subject in schools. In 1972, the education minister in the state of Hessen for instance, wanted to rescind history as a separate topic on Gymnasiums and replace it by 'thematic areas of learning' which were strongly influenced by social sciences. Other states had similar propositions, which would mean that history would merely be furnishing illustrations to social topics.⁴⁵⁷ In response, many historians protested against the dissolving of history as school subject. Kocka came up with seven functions of history which he believed were immanent for general education: explaining contemporary phenomena, revealing relevant insights to

⁴⁵¹ Berg, *Der Holocaust und die westdeutschen Historiker*, 248 ff.

⁴⁵² Here used as the representation of the humanist and a political ideals put forward by the German scholar Wilhelm von Humboldt and pursuing a general cultivation of general knowledge, esthetic concern and the development of capabilities for moral judgment and critical thinking (see Amsing, *Bakens Verzetten*, 24).

⁴⁵³ Toebe, *Geschiedenis: een vak apart?*, 60.

⁴⁵⁴ Idem, 61.

⁴⁵⁵ Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zunft*, 81.

⁴⁵⁶ Idem, 71.

⁴⁵⁷ Idem, 81.

present societies through analogies, creating alertness to the role of ('invented') traditions, explaining changes in societies, introducing human responses to past challenges, warning against generalizations and displaying human behavior in mutual dependencies.⁴⁵⁸ Eventually the plans to disband history at schools were abandoned; in 1981 the State Supreme Court in Hessen decided to ensure the continuity of history as a separate and continuous topic in education.⁴⁵⁹

When, during the 1970s, history didactics became a separate academic discipline at West German universities, their impact on history teaching became enormous. Especially the work of Jeismann, Von Borries, Rüsen, Pandel, Rohlfes, Hasberg and others have resulted in thorough theoretical frameworks about the academic bases of history didactics in West Germany.⁴⁶⁰ Many history didactics have adopted Jeismann's views on history education that were defined through the concept of *Geschichtsbewusstsein* ('historical consciousness'). This meant that history teaching ought to increase the awareness among students that historical ideas and interpretations of the past are created through personal, social, economic, political and historical contexts and therefore are subject to change and transferred and evaluated through present perspectives.⁴⁶¹

Some scholars believe that the academic study of history didactics in the Federal Republic has become too (much) separated from the practice-oriented pedagogical colleges. In the course of time, intense discussions and debates emerged at universities and among history teachers about the perceived gap between the academic study of history didactics and their practical use in secondary education. The fundamental issues about history teaching and learning (including disciplines as didactics of museums and memorials) raised by academics are sometimes beyond the interest of the teachers, who are focused more on improving the quality of their history lessons. Because of their abstract nature, the influence of history didactics on everyday teaching practice is considered to be relatively limited.⁴⁶²

In Germany there is no national curriculum. Although there has been an inclination to a standardize several curricula, the history curricula a very much developed within the responsibilities of the separate states. Currently, history curricula in Germany tend to formulate learning objectives in terms of competences less than in terms of content. Because of the recent past, most notably the twelve years of National Socialist rule (1933-1945) and the era of the two German states (1945-1990), one of the most important goals in German history education – according to Erdmann and Hasberg – is not to learn about or from the past, but how to deal with the past.⁴⁶³ That is perhaps why, since the 1970s, the aspect of multiple perspectives on the past gained solid ground in West German history education, stressing the 'reconstructive' character of history. It was then that sources appeared in separate exercise books or were incorporated in the existing textbooks.⁴⁶⁴ One of the most experimental textbooks in this period was *Fragen an die Geschichte*. This basically was an exercise book, containing sources and assignments and hardly any standard texts written by the authors. Teachers were struggling with this kind of

⁴⁵⁸ Kocka, 'Gesellschaftliche Funktionen der Geschichtswissenschaft', 24-30.

⁴⁵⁹ Große Kracht, *Die zankende Zunft*, 83.

⁴⁶⁰ Erdmann and Hasberg, 'History Culture, History Didactics and History Teaching in Germany', 299-304.

⁴⁶¹ Wilschut, 'History at the Mercy of Politicians and Ideologies', 704-705; Erdmann and Hasberg, 'History Culture, History Didactics and History Teaching in Germany', 299.

⁴⁶² Erdmann and Hasberg, 'History Culture, History Didactics and History Teaching in Germany', 307 and 319.

⁴⁶³ Idem, 307 and 324.

⁴⁶⁴ Idem, 307 and 322.

innovations, and the textbook was not very successful. Most educators preferred the combination of a textbook with an exercise book.⁴⁶⁵

With the growing interest in the contemporary German history during the 1970s, history didactics have developed from a discipline that focused on improving teaching methods to an independent academic discipline. In 1976, Jeismann came up with a new concept of history didactics, claiming that it should embrace the concept of 'historical consciousness', defined as dealing with reflections on and processes of historical thinking and with developments within history education.⁴⁶⁶ This new concept caused considerable overlap between contemporary history and history didactics. In contemporary history in (West) Germany, the past is very much present. Historical research of the past years has dealt intensively with matters of receptions of history and issues within memory culture.⁴⁶⁷ In the traditional field of historical didactics, however, history and historical education is consistently understood as a kind of political education. Topics in contemporary German history have thus obtained a privileged position. The traditional methodology of history education in this sense has provided students with the main results of academic research. According to some scholars, the downside of this development was that history education merely presented a 'canon' of factual knowledge which was to be reproduced by the students. For many, history is still a mere bundle of years, people and related events.⁴⁶⁸

In recent years therefore, there have been some innovations in history curricula of the German states that tried to overcome this emphasis on facts and political contemporary history. One of the trends is the mingling of history with other school subjects like the social sciences, geography or economics. Especially at *Gesamtschulen* ('comprehensive schools'), history is not taught as a separate subject in upper secondary level, but as a social science within the context of geography and social sciences. The problem with this – like it is in the Netherlands – is that many teachers feel unqualified for teaching a subject that they are unfamiliar with and that it necessarily leads to a loss of educational quality. A second tendency in German history education of the last decade is called *Alltagsgeschichte* or 'History of Everyday Life'. The idea is that hitherto in history education too much focus has been on political power structures, the analysis of state affairs or the mechanisms of domination structures. Now more history of common people is shown. In the NRW curriculum with regard to National Socialism, WWII and the Holocaust, for example, there is an emphasis on 'individuals and groups between adaptation and resistance', or 'why did National Socialism fascinate so many people in Germany'?⁴⁶⁹ History education thus is arranged in topics through 'longitudinal sections' (*Längsschnitte*) less than through chronological guidelines.⁴⁷⁰

Teachers and academics feel that this developments lead to less understanding of temporal succession of events among students. In a 2015 interview with the German newspaper *Die Welt* an example is given by Ulrich Bongertmann, chairman of the Association of German History Teachers (*Verband der Geschichtslehrer Deutschlands*), who claimed that students who leave gymnasium after the tenth grade in the (former East

⁴⁶⁵ Hasberg, 'Closed or Broken Narrations', 127.

⁴⁶⁶ Assmann and Frevert, *Geschichtsvergessenheit – Geschichtsversessenheit*, 11.

⁴⁶⁷ Jeismann, 'Didaktik der Geschichte', 12.

⁴⁶⁸ Deile, *Didaktik der Geschichte*, (http://docupedia.de/zg/Didaktik_der_Geschichte#cite_note-36) (last consulted 14-2-17).

⁴⁶⁹ https://www.uni-muenster.de/imperia/md/content/geschichte/didaktik/lehrplansammlung/nrw/gym_ges_sek_ii.pdf (last consulted 18-2-2017).

⁴⁷⁰ <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article149909227/Der-fatale-Niedergang-des-Schulfachs-Geschichte.html> (last consulted 18-2-2017).

German) state of Mecklenburg-West-Pommern have never heard of the GDR, because it has not been dealt with until then.⁴⁷¹

The Netherlands

In the Netherlands, government interference with the content of (history) education traditionally has been relatively limited. Prescribed objectives were often very concise, as this example from the 1968 'national curriculum' shows:

the treatment of a number of topics from prehistory, the Antiquity and the Middle Ages, with the aim of acquiring some insight in historical developments⁴⁷²

Officially, the Netherlands does not have a national curriculum, but instead – until the new millennium – 'globally formulated core objectives and goals'. 'Curriculum regulation' here is defined as a government's intention to prescribe directives at the input level (goals and contents) and at the output level (modes of assessments and examinations, surveillance by the inspection; governance). On the other hand, 'curriculum deregulation' stimulates school autonomy. If that is the case, societies need to have a fundamental trust in schools and teachers to be able to interpret curriculum guidelines and implement curriculum renewal.⁴⁷³ This means that the influence of teachers, textbooks and other didactical instruments has been relatively large and therewith complement the curriculum. In many other countries, including Germany, outlines of curricula are much more detailed. Furthermore, Dutch teachers had and still have a large workload (a full-time teacher teaching a maximum of twenty-four lessons of fifty minutes) which increases the influences of textbooks on curriculum contents. In Finland, for example, teachers with full employment teach sixteen lessons of forty-five minutes and therefore have more time and potential for personal interpretations and innovations.⁴⁷⁴

Usually, curricula in Dutch education come about through initiatives of the Education Ministry, which organizes regular generic renewal of the curricula. Sometimes impulses to change aspects of a certain curriculum come from branch organizations like the *Vereniging van Geschiedenisleraren in Nederland (VGN)* ('Dutch History Teachers Association'). The executive organization for curricula development is the *Nationaal Expertisecentrum Leerplanontwikkeling (SLO)* or 'National Expertise Institute for Curriculum Development'. SLO was founded in 1975 to engage in curriculum research and innovation. It basically does what the government requires, offering secretarial work for a curriculum renovation committee. The chairman of this committee often is an academic, members consist of teachers, teacher educators or educationalists. They come with a proposal for a new examination program, written in general terms. In recent years the programs have become increasingly formulated in abstract terms. One of the reasons for this is Article 23 of the Dutch Constitution, which offers freedom of education. When the Education Ministry agrees with the proposals, the *College Voor Toetsing en Examens (CVTE)*, formerly known as CEVO, or 'Institute for Tests and Examinations', together with teacher's organizations and SLO come up with a more detailed syllabus. CVTE (together with examination experts *CITO*) guarantees the quality and level of tests and examinations. Especially in history education, social trends involve sensitive issues, like the history of

⁴⁷¹ <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article149909227/Der-fatale-Niedergang-des-Schulfachs-Geschichte.html> (last consulted 18-2-2017).

⁴⁷² Dalhuisen, Geurts and Toebe (eds.), *Geschiedenis op school*, 23 (my translation).

⁴⁷³ Kuiper and Berkvens (eds.), *Balancing Curriculum Regulation and Freedom Across Europe*, 7-8.

⁴⁷⁴ <https://www.oecd.org/edu/Finland-EAG2014-Country-Note.pdf> (last consulted 6-2-2017).

slavery, Dutch colonialism or WWII. In the late 1970s, the Dutch government introduced a central examination for several high school subjects, among these (after fierce resistance) also for History.⁴⁷⁵

Like in West Germany, contemporary history was lacking in history education in the Netherlands until the 1960s. Traditionally, history education was meant to reflect on national Dutch values: Calvinism and monarchism, reverence for national values, bourgeois civilization, or the notion that the present was a logical consequence of historical processes.⁴⁷⁶ During the 1960s, alternative views on history education required students to think critically about the society they lived in. This opened the door for contemporary, social, economic and cultural aspects of history.⁴⁷⁷ In 1965 it was decided that the history of the last five decades would constitute the final examination program, and twentieth century history in general became an essential part of the curriculum with the so-called *Mammoetwet* or *Wet op het Voortgezet Onderwijs* ('Law on Secondary Education') in 1968. A second development in history education in the Netherlands since the 1960s was that it became increasingly influenced by 'skills and approaches', aiming at improving students' abilities to comprehend historical interpretations of the past. History education, according to a 1967 report issued by the VGN, ought to reflect the notion that the 'past cannot be simply transmitted'. These ideas and opinions, however, were hardly implemented.⁴⁷⁸ The nature of history education therefore only gradually changed since the 1960s from a course in transmitting facts by omniscient teachers to a more discipline-centered approach. One of the first textbooks that specifically incorporated contemporary issues (of the previous fifty years) was *Fasen en Facetten, Geschiedenis voor het Eindexamen* ('Phases and Facets, History for A-Levels'). The motivation behind this publication was to 'provide students with a better understanding of their own society, including insights into the problems connected with democracy and dictatorship, racial problems and so on'.⁴⁷⁹

More changes were imminent. Many historians, teachers, students and media believed that Dutch history education was too conservative and ought to be reformed. History education was considered to be primarily chronological, male-oriented and Eurocentric as well as predominantly dealing with 'facts' about political events in the past. Cultural or social-economic aspects were largely absent, as was the systematic research of historical sources. These traditional views on history education became increasingly challenged by upcoming social sciences, secularization, the growing impact of mass media and an increasing engagement of young people with democratic institutions. Attempts were made to overcome the influences of the long-established denominations in education, especially by the textbook *Wereld in Wording* (first published 1954) where the authors represented various religious and ideological backgrounds (see for more on this textbook §4.1).⁴⁸⁰

The negative image of history education even led to government plans to cut the number of hours dedicated to history education at Dutch schools. According to Maria Grever several academic historians and teachers protested against these policy plans, especially Utrecht historian Pieter Geyl. One of his main concerns was that an overemphasis on sciences would diminish 'our ability to resist expansionist totalitarian

⁴⁷⁵ Grever and Van Boxtel, *Verlangen naar tastbaar verleden*, 30-32, and interview with Albert van der Kaap, History education expert at SLO, 30 September 2015.

⁴⁷⁶ Wilschut, 'Zinnvolle en leerbare geschiedenis', 51.

⁴⁷⁷ Idem, 52.

⁴⁷⁸ Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations', 87-91.

⁴⁷⁹ Van der Hoeven (ed.), *Fasen en facetten, Geschiedenis voor het eindexamen*.

⁴⁸⁰ Leeuwenhoek, Eleveld and Dalhuisen, 'Dertig jaar Novem/Wereld in Wording' (last consulted 19-8-2015).

beliefs of communism'.⁴⁸¹ To face the challenges, Dutch history teachers had combined forces in the 1958 established *Vereniging van Geschiedenisleraren in Nederland (VGN)* (Dutch History Teachers Association). This could not foreclose, however, the changing status of history as a school topic. Through the *Mammoetwet*, passed through parliament in 1963 and introduced in 1968, comprehensive schools with national and uniform curricula were established. The names of the school types had been changed: now there were LTS ('lower technical education'), MAVO ('general secondary education'), HAVO ('higher secondary education'), VWO ('pre-university secondary education'). Behind those names radical changes were hidden: switching to other school types was made easier, and students had less test subjects because of the need to have more deepening of the syllabus. Furthermore, the nature of history education had been altered. The old *Bildungspädagogik* that had been symptomatic for history education at gymnasiums (meaning the general and cultural transmission of ethical and aesthetic values and demonstrating monumental views on the past) had perished in the democratization processes of the 1960s. History seemed to be losing its preeminent position in the national curriculum and it was no longer an examination topic. Instead, it had become an optional subject in upper grades, meaning that most students aged over fifteen (when they are considered more receptive to social and historical issues) no longer had history classes. History teachers in the Netherlands (mainly through the VGN) tried to overcome these setbacks by restoring history as an examination topic, which finally happened in the early 1980s.⁴⁸²

During the 1960s and 1970s, insiders looked for new approaches in school history. How could one make students understand or apply history when they were passively studying facts? In 1967 the VGN set up a *Doelstellingenrapport* ('Report on Objectives for History Education'). This tended to promote independent student activities in 'thinking, feeling and acting'. The 'old school' acquisition of knowledge and the transfer of certain beliefs was to be replaced by developing self-awareness and attitudes towards world politics. This involved orientation on the contemporary world, not that of the more distant past.⁴⁸³ Some, like Leiden didactic expert and history textbook writer Leo Dalhuisen, believed that historical research and historical thinking and reasoning were key skills that kept recurring in historical professions. Dalhuisen introduced, together with the theoretical historian Van der Dussen, a system of so-called 'structural concepts' for school history: facts, objectivity, empathy, continuity, change, causes, effects, imaging, interpretation. Through these concepts historical skills could be learned that would enable students to perform rudimentary forms of historical research that recurrently could be applied on a higher level, regardless of the historical content of education.⁴⁸⁴

Nijmegen didactic expert Joop Toebe (and others) challenged the hitherto applied concept of transferring historical knowledge in the 1980s textbook *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* ('Questions to History'), not accidentally referring to a title of a German textbook (*Fragen an die Geschichte*). The authors explicitly referred here to Kocka's method of explaining the present through 'functions of historical reasoning'. Not the 'past' itself ought to constitute the content of history textbooks, but these had to deal with relevant questions that students could ask themselves in order to clarify and understand the social realities in which they lived. Contemporary issues therefore were shaping the historical content. This concept applied by Toebe and others was a strong statement against the

⁴⁸¹ Grever, 'Opvattingen en misvattingen over het geschiedenisonderwijs', 27-29.

⁴⁸² Toebe, *Geschiedenis: een vak apart?*, 249-251.

⁴⁸³ Doelstellingenrapport (1967), 'Rapport van de Doelstellingencommissie, ingesteld door het bestuur van de V.G.N.' in *Kleio* 8 (6) 164-165 and 168-169.

⁴⁸⁴ Wilschut, *Beelden van tijd*, 24.

traditional nineteenth century *Bildungs*-tradition, with its general educational goals of history education.⁴⁸⁵

How strongly contemporary history had permeated the national curriculum was demonstrated when, after experiments and pilot exams, in 1981, for all schools in secondary education a central history examination was introduced, accompanied by 'school examinations'. Up until the mid 1990s, this examination concerned history topics after 1917.⁴⁸⁶ In 1996 a new exam program was designed and implemented. It was decided that this new examination program would be broadened: every year two variable topics on 20th century history was to be examined and three other themes in school examinations (from 1990 onwards other than 20th-century themes for national examinations were also selected). Also, new disciplines like social-economic history, colonial history, the history of mentalities, local history and gender-related topics were introduced.⁴⁸⁷ Furthermore, the exam program involved the 'structural concepts' (for instance the analysis of primary sources) as well as the application of other historical skills, to be used in any other historical practice. It was believed, however, that students knew much about the two examination topics, but had no chronological overview on history. Furthermore, this system of revolving examination topics was commercially favorable for publishing houses who published new exercise books every two years for the whole of the Dutch market. One of the main benefits was closing the gap between historical science and education. Many universities and colleges organized in-service trainings for history teachers who were in need of refresher courses about the new examination topics. Also with the changing content, examination experts had no problems in constructing high quality exam questions.⁴⁸⁸

The introduction of structural concepts and related skills, key questions and perspectives underpinned the idea of the *spiral curriculum* (developed in 1960 by Jerome Bruner in *The Process of Education*): 'a curriculum as it develops should revisit ... basic ideas repeatedly, building upon them until the student has grasped the full formal apparatus that goes with them'.⁴⁸⁹ History became – in this sense - a 'learnable craft', increasing over the years in level of quality and independent of the content of the curriculum. The traditional collection of unique facts, which had to be memorized by students, was no longer applicable. In the late 1990s, however, it was believed that history education had dramatically failed. The general opinion was that students 'knew' nothing about national history, and had no chronological insight in main currents of the past and only 'performed tricks with sources'.⁴⁹⁰ Following a politician's remark that 'public administrators and politicians must be aware of our national history, because who wants to govern the country must know its identity'. Popular historical magazine *Historisch Nieuwsblad* surveyed members of parliament on their knowledge of national Dutch history in the year 1996, with special attention to parliamentary history.⁴⁹¹ Fifteen factual questions were submitted to 150 deputies, like 'When did Dutch parliament introduce female suffrage?' or 'When and where was William of Orange killed?'. Public indignation was huge when it was revealed that the average score was 6.2 (out of fifteen possible)

⁴⁸⁵ Wilschut, 'Zinnvolle en leerbare geschiedenis', 54.

⁴⁸⁶ Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations', 89 and Boom, 'Panta Rhei', 33-34.

⁴⁸⁷ Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations', 90.

⁴⁸⁸ Wilschut, 'Zinnvolle en leerbare geschiedenis', 54.

⁴⁸⁹ Bruner, *The Process of Education*, 13.

⁴⁹⁰ Boom, 'Panta Rhei', 35.

⁴⁹¹ <http://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/5845/tweede-kamer-haalt-onvoldoende-voor-proefwerk-geschiedenis.html> (last consulted 3-9-2015).

correct answers. Some mistook the twentieth-century cardinal Alfrink for the first Dutch bishop (instead of Willibrord in the 7th century). Most politicians, however, were not really concerned about their low score on national history: some believed that ‘facts are not important in history’, or that ‘being a protestant I need not know about medieval [catholic, MvB] history’, or even excused themselves by claiming that ‘my history teacher had been overstrained’. Some prominent historians, however, believed that facts did matter: ‘facts are not crap’, Utrecht historian Righart said, ‘that’s weak educational talk. One must know when and in what context developments occurred. Such an argument is only a mask for stupidity’.⁴⁹²

Although the 1996 ‘survey’ was questionable and it was overlooked that more than half of the interviewed MPs had enjoyed history education before 1965, the general impression became persistent that the days of ‘weak educational talk’ were over. It was considered to be ‘disgraceful’ when opinion leaders did not have ready knowledge of basic facts about the Dutch national past. One would need to know these things – as a generally civilized human being.⁴⁹³ In 1997, the undersecretary for Education Tineke Netelenbos therefore installed a committee (‘Commissie De Wit’) to investigate ‘whether history education matched the needs of society’. The innovations in history education clearly had made ‘society’ suspicious, which was confirmed by the final report of the De Wit committee which was published in April 1998. Historical skills ‘predominated’, as one of its conclusions stated, and there was a lack of ‘longitudinal consistency’ in history education. Furthermore it was believed that a ‘certain discrepancy had risen between the practice of teaching and what society expected of education’. In the accompanying letter the undersecretary wrote about the recommendations: ‘the main recommendation of the committee concerns the wish that all students will have to have a common basis of historical overview knowledge and skills. This means a shift in the direction of the historical overview knowledge’.⁴⁹⁴

The De Wit committee had interviewed and consulted ‘representative public figures’, yet they hardly represented the field of history education. Otherwise they would have known that the historical orientation the committee believed was missing, had been present both in the curriculum as well in history textbooks. And the much criticized didactical skills had always been connected to the historical content, serving as a means to reach the objective of historical consciousness.⁴⁹⁵ Grever states that prominent politician Frits Bolkestein, who had shown his discontent with national history education in a newspaper article in September 1996,⁴⁹⁶ was almost solely responsible for the change in course, despite ‘the positive advice of the National Board of Education and the public support of ... some 4,000 historians’.⁴⁹⁷

But now that this was established, a new committee was set the task to work out to the ‘new balance between knowledge and skills’ in concrete curricular programs, core objectives and learning outcomes for all forms and levels of secondary history education. This was the first time that an attempt was made in the Netherlands to establish a coherent program for history education from primary school to upper grades of HAVO/VWO. The

⁴⁹² <http://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/5845/tweede-kamer-haalt-onvoldoende-voor-proefwerk-geschiedenis.html> (last consulted 3-9-2015).

⁴⁹³ Wilschut, ‘Zinnvolle en leerbare geschiedenis’, 54.

⁴⁹⁴ *Het verleden in de toekomst. Advies van de commissie geschiedenisonderwijs* (The Hague) 1998.

⁴⁹⁵ Dalhuisen and Van der Dussen, ‘Wat moeten de leerlingen weten? En wie maakt dat uit?’, 426-427 and Grever, ‘Opvattingen en misvattingen over het geschiedenisonderwijs’, 42.

⁴⁹⁶ <http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/1996/september/07/eeerst-de-feiten-dan-de-themas-geschiedenis-is-evenzeer-7323283> (last consulted 3-9-2015).

⁴⁹⁷ Grever, ‘Opvattingen en misvattingen over het geschiedenisonderwijs’, 38-39.

chairmanship of this second committee was assigned to the Amsterdam historian Piet de Rooy. Its main educational goal was to improve 'historical consciousness' among students. When the report of the De Rooy committee was published in February 2001, it became clear what it meant by 'historical consciousness'.⁴⁹⁸ Through a framework of 'orientation knowledge' on key issues in world history (from an West-European and Dutch perspective) and a set of skills that belong to historical reasoning, students were meant to be able to develop this historical consciousness. To establish 'longitudinal consistency' in the curricula, a system of ten historical periods were introduced, attached to visual symbols and with fixed dates and names, such as the 'Age of Monks and Knights' for the early Middle Ages (500-1000), or the 'Age of Television and Computer' for the second half of the twentieth century. The committee moved away slightly from the traditional proficiency training of independent research through historical sources, and accentuated 'perception' of historical events through multi-perspective layers. Students are to learn causal processes, or the impact of different values when judging historical events.⁴⁹⁹

The De Rooy committee did not come up with a canon of fixed names and dates; their advice was restricted to the afore mentioned 'distinctive features' (*kenmerkende aspecten*) of the ten historical eras, without setting out specific names, events or concrete examples of those aspects. The idea was that throughout their educational career, students would repeatedly be in contact with the entire framework of 'orientation knowledge'. According to Klein, Grever and Van Boxtel, two historical skills remained highlighted: working with historical sources and distinguishing (dis)continuities and causes and consequences of historical events.⁵⁰⁰ This, the committee stated, will invoke less chronological teaching and emphasize the 'concentric' basis of history education. One other conclusion of the committee's report involved a change in the ways of examining. The system of the two historical topics presupposed students to reproduce very specific factual historical knowledge at the exams. Now, the committee believed, it was time to stimulate historical consciousness through increasing student's abilities to encompass 'general historical orientation and interpreting particular problems in a historically responsible manner'.⁵⁰¹ Critics who stated that this model of the 'ten ages' was too 'simplistic and western-oriented', were rebutted by the committee in stating that although 'scientifically not fully correct', it needed to be seen from a didactical point of view. So when the national newspaper *De Volkskrant* in February 2001 summarized the committee's report through the headline 'Facts back in History Education' (*Feiten weer Basis Lesstof Geschiedenisonderwijs*),⁵⁰² the reporter was actually wrong. De Rooy in March 2001: 'It's not about the facts alone. Even in the current history textbooks there are sufficient facts, that's not the problem. But we want facts also to linger and that students learn to make connections and think critically... erudition is all very well but history is not meant for that'.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁸ *Verleden, heden en toekomst. Advies van de Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming* (Enschede 2001).

⁴⁹⁹ Wilschut, 'Zinnvolle en leerbare geschiedenis', 54.

⁵⁰⁰ Klein, Grever, Van Boxtel, 'Zie, denk, voel, vraag, spreek en verwonder', 386. See also Grever and Van Boxtel, *Verlangen naar tastbaar verleden*, 30-32.

⁵⁰¹ Klein, Grever and Van Boxtel, 'Zie, denk, voel, vraag, spreek en verwonder', 386 and Wilschut, 'Zinnvolle en leerbare geschiedenis', 54.

⁵⁰² <http://www.volkskrant.nl/archief/-feiten-weer-basis-lesstof-geschiedenis~a589978/> (last consulted 4-9-2015).

⁵⁰³ 'Geschiedenis in een moderne jas. Voor wie erudiet wil zijn is het vak Winkler Prins beter'. Interview with Piet de Rooy in *Het Onderwijsblad* nr.5 (10-03-2001) (<http://www.aob.nl/default.aspx?id=272&article=162&q=&m=>) (last consulted 4-9-2015).

All this coincided with the process of diminishing identification with the nation-state. Through revolutions in communication, coupled with the increasing internationalization of economic developments, national boundaries were increasingly being discarded. A western identity crisis seemed to emerge through mass migration which accentuated the trend towards multi-ethnic and multicultural societies. The end of the Cold War, the increasing European integration processes and the growing tensions between the Muslim and the Western world called for new historical perspectives.⁵⁰⁴ In this context, the Dutch National Council of Education recommended that a national 'canon' ought to be developed in order to contribute to a 'stronger Dutch cultural identity'. The Canon of the Netherlands was established by the 'Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon', which on 3 July 2007 presented the final version in the *Ridderzaal* ('Knights' Hall'), the center of Dutch parliamentary history in The Hague. Remarkably enough, the state institute of curriculum expertise *SLO* was not involved in the development of the Canon. The committee came up with the long-awaited list: fifty people and events that 'every Dutchman should know'.⁵⁰⁵ A political decision, some believed: this canon had been established without consulting the VGN and obtained no didactical foundation whatsoever.⁵⁰⁶ Although the Council of State advised against mandatory introduction of the canon, because this would be 'contrary to the freedom of education', and the Minister of Education spoke of a 'source of inspiration' for teachers, Dutch parliament accepted the canon as a 'starting point for national history'. One could, as Wilschut claimed, not be too permissive when it came to match the ideological goals of education through stressing the national element in history teaching.⁵⁰⁷

Discussions over the quality and content of Dutch history education seem to be ongoing. As demonstrated above, there has been much public support for more national history in the basic curricula, as well as dramatic pleas for 'more facts'. Yet almost all 'experts' (didactics and teacher organizations) basically agree on the 'fact' that history education ought to reflect conflicting stories and substantiated different visions on the past. Beginning with reflections on the national past, the current state of history education ought to reflect European cosmopolitanism, Utrecht historian Mijnhardt, has claimed, as well as values of cultural pluralism.⁵⁰⁸

To complicate things, not only the state of history education was discussed and transformed in this era, but in 1998 the upper grades of secondary education as a whole were completely reorganized. This so-called 'Second Phase' (*Tweede Fase*) was aiming to give students a broader general knowledge, to create more consistency between school subjects and to implement more independent ways of learning in order to match methods of learning in higher education.⁵⁰⁹ After three years of general education in HAVO and VWO, students were meant to choose a cluster of subjects called 'profiles': 'Science and Technology', 'Science and Health', 'Economics and Society' or 'Culture and Society'. History became mandatory in the latter two profiles, which meant that over 71% of all HAVO-students had history as an examination topic in secondary education, compared to over 53% of all VWO-students. In pre-vocational VMBO (which covers over 60% of all Dutch students in secondary education), students could choose from 'Engineering and Technology', 'Care and Welfare' (the only cluster including History) or 'Business and

⁵⁰⁴ Grever, Pelzer and Haydn, 'High school students' views on history', 3.

⁵⁰⁵ Van Oostrom, *entoen.nu, Rapport van de Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon*. See <http://www.entoen.nu/over> (last consulted 4-9-2015).

⁵⁰⁶ Dalhuisen, 'Terugblik op een halve eeuw vakdidactiek', 12-13.

⁵⁰⁷ Wilschut, *Beelden van tijd*, 32-33.

⁵⁰⁸ Mijnhardt, 'De zinloosheid van een nationale canon', 11-20.

⁵⁰⁹ <http://www.slo.nl/voortgezet/tweedefase/> (last consulted 12-11-2015).

Agriculture'. In 2008, slightly less than 37% of all Dutch students in secondary education had history education throughout their entire school careers. The history examination program was also renewed with the implementation of the Second Phase: specific historical skills as well as 'domains' for VWO (eleven) and HAVO (seven) were conceived.⁵¹⁰ Hence, almost 65% of all students in secondary education in the Netherlands do not have history education anymore in the upper levels (from the ages of 14-15 years).

Nowadays, history education is, next to acquiring basic knowledge about events and processes in the past, mostly about apprehending an investigative approach to the past via different sources. A variety of assignments consequently is playing an increasingly large role in history education, adding training in thinking skills and (digitalized) sources to the traditional textbook.⁵¹¹ In this context, Van Drie and Van Boxtel have elaborated on the term 'historical reasoning', proposing a theoretical framework consisting of six elements that enhance students' comprehension of the past: historical questioning, using sources, contextualization, argumentation, using substantive concepts and using meta-concepts. Most publishing companies produce textbooks and examination assignments according to this strategy.⁵¹²

3.3 WWII and The Holocaust in history education

National identities are to a large extent the results of a collective identification with the past, and produce temporal images of a nation associated with a past and a future.⁵¹³ As national history curricula represent transmitted knowledge and are products of contestation and consensus, history textbooks are indispensable sources if one wants to research public representations of national identities and collective memories. History textbooks are especially relevant because they try to, or inadvertently, promote continuity in collective memory, where upon national or collective identities are often founded. In this sense, textbook representations as well as academic debates on historiography form important instruments in shaping the collective meanings of identity.⁵¹⁴

But not only historians deal with the past; non-professionals ('the public') too devote attention and interact with the past. Hence, the historical culture of a society therefore can be defined as the 'dynamic process through which the past has become meaningful for and has been represented by individuals and groups within a certain society'.⁵¹⁵ Analyzing the historical culture of a society is a necessary step in order to understand the continuities and discontinuities in a changing political landscape. Zygmunt Bauman has stated that it is in the interest of democratic societies that we ask ourselves how (history) education deals with contested history topics like the Holocaust. This is firstly so because the Holocaust represents perhaps the most traumatic historical phenomenon in modern history of the western world. Never in history have so many people been systematically murdered in such a limited time in the name of an ideology. Secondly, Bauman claims that some of the conditions that made the Holocaust possible are still present in our societies. The nation-state and its modern society remain capable of committing 'social cannibalism', and have

⁵¹⁰ Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations'. 2 and 90-95.

⁵¹¹ Idem, 104-105.

⁵¹² Van Drie and Van Boxtel, 'Historical Reasoning: Towards a Framework for analyzing students' reasoning about the past', 87-110.

⁵¹³ Grever and Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*, 26.

⁵¹⁴ Soysal, 'Identity and Transnationalization in German School Textbooks', 129-131.

⁵¹⁵ Ribbens, *Een eigentijds verleden*, 10-12.

no conscience in themselves. It is – again according to Bauman – ‘modernity’ that gave rise to the possibility of effectively and administratively annihilating people considered not to be human. Modern genocide, says Bauman, is not fulfilling a certain group ideology, or getting rid of state enemies, but reaching the final goal of a ‘better’ (meaning purified) and different society. Hitler’s victims did not belong to the image of that perfect society.⁵¹⁶

In 1985, a joint German-Israeli commission issued recommendations for the treatment of National Socialism and the Holocaust in education. It was necessary, according to the recommendations, to stress the importance of antisemitic elements in Nazi ideology. The disenfranchisement, social discrimination, social isolation and displacement of Jews should be made clear so that students learn that long before the start of the Holocaust a process of discrimination and isolation had occurred in Germany - and that few protested. There was hardly a textbook that tried to reconstruct the history of the Jews and their cultural achievements in Europe. Instead, the persecutions were being represented from the perspective and through the vocabulary of the perpetrators, leaving the victims faceless and nondescript.⁵¹⁷

(West-)Germany

Educating about the Holocaust has – at least since the 1990s – strongly permeated German education. In all federal states National Socialism and the Holocaust are compulsory topics in the curricula for secondary education, regardless of the type of school. All sixteen federal states describe ‘National Socialism and WWII’ through key concepts like ‘concentration camps’, ‘extermination camps’ or ‘Holocaust’, all being mandatory in *Sekundarstufe I* and which become intensified during *Sekundarstufe II*.⁵¹⁸ The Holocaust is being covered not only in history education, but also in civic education, relating the topic to modern German or European political institutions and covering basic aspects of human rights and democratic values.⁵¹⁹ Apart from this, the Holocaust is taught in from religious education up to ethics, philosophy, political science and literature (but these subjects with corresponding textbooks will not be part of this research). A visit to a Holocaust Memorial or former concentration camp, as well as class visits by eye witnesses is standard procedure for German schools.⁵²⁰

Education about the National Socialist past and especially about the Holocaust, was and is evidently a sensitive issue in (West) Germany. Similar to other countries, there has been little attention for the Holocaust in West German history textbooks up until the 1970s, regardless of the Reeducation reforms of its educational system after WWII. Apparently, in the first two decades after 1945, most ordinary West Germans had difficulties in perceiving themselves as perpetrators of the Nazi-crimes, as some studies have pointed out.⁵²¹ This is

⁵¹⁶ Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, 85-86 and 91.

⁵¹⁷ ‘Deutsch-israelische Schulbuchempfehlungen. Zur Darstellung der jüdischen Geschichte sowie der Geschichte und Geographie Israels in Schulbüchern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Zur Darstellung der deutschen Geschichte sowie der Geschichte und Geographie der Bundesrepublik Deutschlands in israelischen Schulbüchern’ in *Studien zur internationaler Schulbuchforschung, Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert Instituts*, Band 44 (Braunschweig 1985).

⁵¹⁸ Although it must be said that two-thirds of the students in Germany actually drop history classes after 10th grade (<http://germanculture.com.ua/germany-facts/secondary-education-germany/>) (last consulted 18–2-2017).

⁵¹⁹ Crawford and Foster, *War, Nation, Memory* 24-25.

⁵²⁰ Either through living persons or through digital resources such as the USC Shoah (‘Spielberg’) Foundation (<https://sfi.usc.edu/>) (last consulted 7-6-2016).

⁵²¹ Welzer et. al., *‘Was für böse Menschen wir sind!’*, Assmann and Frevert, *Geschichtsvergessenheit, Geschichtsversessenheit*, Reichel, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland: Die Auseinandersetzung mit der NS-Diktatur von 1945 bis heute*.

reflected in West German history textbooks: post-war German textbooks have demonstrated a certain unwillingness or inability to cope with difficult issues such as the responsibility for war crimes and crimes against humanity during the years between 1933 and 1945.⁵²² After the German reunification, however, West German history textbooks have represented WWII and the Holocaust more from a transnational context.⁵²³ Sociologist Yasemin Soysal postulates that in German textbooks the concept of 'nation' has disappeared in favor of globalized and transnational concepts. In this view, Germany has become more inclined to 'transnationalize' its curricula through diversification of collective identities than other western countries such as Great Britain, The Netherlands or France.

Teaching national history is a complicated matter in Germany. In the German state of Niedersachsen, according to Soysal, 39.9 % of the history curriculum is devoted to national 'German' history (compared to 75% in Great-Britain). Furthermore, in Germany much more attention is given to contemporary history. Given the nature of that history, it is difficult to see how that could 'enhance national pride and celebratory narratives'.⁵²⁴ Lässig and Pohl tend to disagree with this, however: they agree that most German textbooks refrain from being patriotic or nationalistic and focus on democratic development, Europeanization, human rights and pacifism. Yet they still believe that all this is predominantly seen from a German perspective. National history is not fully embedded in a global approach; the perspective of German history is still dominant. World history is practically non-existent in German textbooks and Jewish history is not covered in most state curricula. In the case of the Holocaust, anti-totalitarian views have been replaced by universalist embedding: the Holocaust nowadays is seen as an instrument to convey general human-rights education, and not as the most tragic episode in Jewish history in Germany. The richness of Jewish culture and the difficulties in the long history of difficulties in the relationship between Jews and non-Jews in Germany is mostly marginalized. Jews, in other words, are still largely victimized.⁵²⁵

In a small-scale study on the representations of Nazism in (West) German textbooks after 1945, Von Borries identified didactical and content changes over the years. Primary sources appeared in the textbooks, so that students were motivated to do research, to reflect upon history, and to develop an orientation towards historical thinking. National Socialism had gained a lot more space allocation in the newer textbooks. Although the Holocaust was treated more elaborately over the years, the subject was still badly contextualized and treated within the context of a totalitarian regime.⁵²⁶

Wenzeler has analyzed twenty textbooks from Germany and the United Kingdom (published between 1993 and 2003), by looking at the matter of culpability and the Holocaust. All textbooks used various sources to stimulate historical skills by students. She found that in German textbooks, a higher percentage of the number pages was dedicated to the Holocaust compared to their English counterparts. Furthermore, British textbooks tended to view leading Nazis as the main perpetrators of the Holocaust; 'Hitlerism' thus became the standard narrative. Wenzeler found that in German textbooks 'average Germans' were held (partially) responsible for the Holocaust, either as perpetrators or as bystanders. Most German textbooks agreed on the fact that students ought to learn from the past, presenting the historical content in relation to present-day issues concerning

⁵²² Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks', 52-53.

⁵²³ Soysal, 'Identity and Transnationalization in German School Textbooks', 128-129.

⁵²⁴ Idem, 134-136.

⁵²⁵ Lässig and Pohl, 'History Textbooks and Historical Scholarship in Germany', 128-129.

⁵²⁶ Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks', 59-61.

racism, antisemitism or discrimination. Furthermore, they acknowledged the collective responsibility of the 'German nation' for events leading up to the Holocaust. Here Wenzeler signaled the influence of Goldhagen's theories (see § 2.2) on history textbooks. She believes that due to the fact that, in the light of increasing attention to contemporary history in the (West) German curriculum after 1945, 'innocent patriotism' was not possible in Germany. There is, therefore, no positive national mythical narrative possible.⁵²⁷ In the next (empirical) chapters I will show whether this statement holds.

In a more longitudinal approach (vertical analysis) to German history textbooks (restricted to textbooks for 13-16 year olds published between 1949-1990), Von Borries sets out his concerns about the subject of accountability for the Nazi-past. One of the textbooks he examined quotes an American judge referring to the Holocaust at the Nuremberg trials: "No more than a hundred persons were informed about what was happening in general or in any way". The 'outsider's' citation was presumably meant to exonerate the majority of the German population. But, according to Von Borries, after Nuremberg everyone could have known that there were hundreds of thousands Germans who had been participating in antisemitic measures during the war.⁵²⁸ Acknowledging some responsibility for what had happened proved to be difficult. Feelings of 'guilt' were being suppressed, and some textbook authors described the German population as 'victim' of National Socialism: they too had suffered from bombings, battles, ethnic cleansing, hunger, the Nazis, etcetera. In 1961, one of the textbooks that Von Borries analyzed had been rewritten: now Auschwitz had obtained two pages and the mass-shootings in Eastern Europe were mentioned. The myth of the relative innocence of the *Wehrmacht*, however, was reaffirmed.⁵²⁹

Textbook authors and history teachers of course dealt with similar problems with regard to this *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. In history textbooks published between 1949 and 1990, Von Borries identifies a general pattern in the shift in the representation of the Holocaust (and National Socialism) from a *Betriebsunfall* for which Hitler and other Party leaders bear responsibility, towards more explicit contextualization of Nazi-atrocities against the background of totalitarianism (explicitly commissioned by the West German Minister of Education on July 5th 1962. The 'underlying assumption' here seems to reflect Cold War attitudes and the positive aspects of western liberal-democratic society: totalitarianism was responsible for the Nazi-crimes and continues to exist (in different forms) in Eastern Europe. Opposing communism implied accepting that Germany itself was a totalitarian state in the recent past and therefore bore collective guilt and responsibility for the Nazi-abominations. Von Borries doubts, however, whether German historical culture has embraced collective responsibility for the Holocaust. He is pessimistic about the way German history textbooks have stimulated and continue to stimulate critical thinking on controversial topics as the Holocaust. In his view students are not encouraged enough to make their own political judgments. Teaching about the Holocaust in Germany has remained, he claims, moralizing and normative.⁵³⁰

The Netherlands

During the first years after the war, education on WWII in the Netherlands served as encouragement for the future, emphasizing notions like freedom, truth, justice,

⁵²⁷ Wenzeler, 'The Presentation of the Holocaust in German and English School History Textbooks', 107-119.

⁵²⁸ Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks', 50-52.

⁵²⁹ Idem, 52-53.

⁵³⁰ Idem, 61-62.

togetherness, national coherence and brotherhood. National myths (re-) emerged, like belief in progress, and the continuity of traditions in religion and national culture. Radical elements of the resistance movement were discarded (like communism), thus legitimizing the new political power structure after the war. Until the 1960s the national narrative in the Netherlands (and in Dutch education) recounted the anti-fascist attitudes, bravery and fortitude of the majority of a Dutch nation under siege, a narrative we now call the 'resistance-myth'. The Holocaust played a minor role. During the years of the Cold War, WWII was remembered within the context of national sovereignty, freedom and democracy. Human rights and racism were not an essential part of that narrative. Jews were not recognized by the Dutch government nor by former resistance movements as a specific group of victims; coinciding with, according to Dutch historian Ido De Haan, the continuity of the marginalization of Jews in Dutch society since the 1930s.⁵³¹

But from the 1960s onwards, younger and anti-establishment generations tried to picture a different story: the 'resistance-myth' was to be reassessed. The general perception is that the Dutch were mostly passive bystanders and that some were actively engaged in the persecution of the Jews. The Netherlands, however, had been a country where antisemitism had existed before the war, where people were largely indifferent to the fate of the Jews. Seventy-five per cent of the Jewish population in the Netherlands were killed during the war; the highest percentage in Western Europe. A 'shift in memory' has therefore taken place: the image of collective heroism has been replaced by another narrative: that of the 'guilty bystander'. Until today, this interpretation of Holocaust history and the Netherlands is not well represented in education or textbooks: the Holocaust is predominantly seen as part of German history.⁵³² Today, WWII is still well represented in primary and secondary education in the Netherlands. WWII and the Holocaust are the only 'distinctive features' in Dutch history education that are expressly required to be taught.⁵³³ The Dutch national perspective, however, still dominates, as a SLO-survey in 2015 has found. It suggested that the Dutch history curriculum ought to be adapted so that 'the war' can be contextualized in an international perspective.⁵³⁴ Representations and treatment of the Holocaust in Dutch history education also underwent dynamic changes.

Also, up to the early 1990s, educational culture as well as memory cultures in the Netherlands with regard to WWII were dominated by the desire to enhance national (and western) unity in the fight against the communist threat and totalitarianism in general. After 1989, the history of WWII was no longer judged from the antagonistic viewpoint of 'democracy against dictatorship' or 'resistance versus collaboration', 'victims and perpetrators'. The nationalist character of remembering the war slowly disappeared, and became overwhelmingly 'Europeanized'. The Holocaust became an international symbol for combating discrimination, racism and antisemitism. At the same time, more attention was dedicated to local and regional dimensions of the Holocaust. Dozens of non-national lieux-de-mémoire were created throughout the Netherlands (and Germany). Survivors and their kin, heritage keepers and tourist professionals (re)created places of remembrance.⁵³⁵

⁵³¹ De Haan, *Na de ondergang*, 62.

⁵³² Van der Boom, *'Wij weten niets van hun lot'*, 9-14.

⁵³³ Interview with Albert van der Kaap, History education expert at SLO Nationaal Expertisecentrum leerplanontwikkeling, 30 September 2015.

⁵³⁴ *Oorlog en dekolonisatie. Heroriëntatie op de Tweede Wereldoorlog en de dekolonisatie van Nederlands-Indië* (SLO Nationaal Expertisecentrum leerplanontwikkeling Enschede 2015) (<http://downloads.slo.nl/Repository/oorlog-en-dekolonisatie.pdf>) (last consulted 18-11-2016).

⁵³⁵ De Keizer and Plomp, *Een open zenuw*, 18.

In her 2010 publication *Oorlogslessen, onderwijs over de oorlog sinds 1945* ('War Lessons, Education on the War since 1945')⁵³⁶ Dutch historian Dienne Hondius examines the 'educational memory culture of WWII', specifically focusing on political, religious, psychological and emotional repercussions in educating about WWII and the persecution of the Jews.⁵³⁷ In analyzing post-war education in the Netherlands, Hondius distinguishes five different periods: 1944-1961, 1962-1977, 1977-1985, 1986-1995, 1996-2010. The first period (1944-1961) she describes as a time of dissension and patriotism. Hondius chose the year 1944 as starting point because war education already began that year, with the aim of providing order and normality to youngsters, as well as offering them encouragement, self-respect and comfort in those difficult years.⁵³⁸ In 1946, the Dutch government came up with guidelines about the way the war ought to be commemorated. Unity and national pride were emphasized, persecution of the Jews did not play any part in this educational guidance until well into the 1950s. The Dutch government as well as former resistance organizations refused to acknowledge Jews as specific war victims.⁵³⁹ Even then, teachers were dissatisfied with student's basic knowledge on the war.⁵⁴⁰ The objectives, however, remained the same: general knowledge on the military situation during the war, the Dutch resistance and the royal family, and national pride.⁵⁴¹ In textbooks generalizations were common good: NSB and (Dutch) SS, and collaborating women were labelled as minority groups and moral wrongdoers. Until the 1970s, the textbooks hardly mentioned the persecution of Dutch Jews. The Holocaust – when mentioned at all – was described within the context of National Socialism and the Third Reich.⁵⁴²

In the period between 1962 and 1977, many Dutch people felt unhappy with these commemorations of national concordance. Alternative ways of commemorating the war were organized. In the 1960s, the *Hollandse Schouwburg* (the former theatre in Amsterdam where Jews were brought before being deported to the east of the country) was installed as 'lieu de mémoire'.⁵⁴³ Increasing attention went out to the persecution of the Jews, especially after the introduction of the 'Mammoetwet' in 1968. This education reform act (see §3.2) implemented new directions for history education, one of which was 'developing critical attitudes towards history and society'.⁵⁴⁴ WWII became a subject of central examinations, the first of which was in 1974.⁵⁴⁵ During the period 1977-1985, Holocaust education became part of the Dutch curriculum. After the broadcast of the American television series *Holocaust* in 1979, various kinds of educational activities were undertaken in the Netherlands. Information brochures and teaching materials were issued with outlines for didactical and pedagogical approaches, where the obfuscated Nazi terminology was replaced by clearer and more contemporary language and where survivors finally had their say.⁵⁴⁶ Education specialist, and from 1990-1997 endowed professor of Holocaust Education Ido Abram specifically advised not to show gruesome illustrations in education

⁵³⁶ Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*.

⁵³⁷ Idem, 10.

⁵³⁸ Idem, 46-48.

⁵³⁹ Idem, 62.

⁵⁴⁰ Idem, 62.

⁵⁴¹ Idem, 83.

⁵⁴² Idem, 122.

⁵⁴³ <http://www.hollandscheschouwburg.nl/geschiedenis> (last consulted 1-7-2015).

⁵⁴⁴ Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 84.

⁵⁴⁵ In total WWII (including the National Socialism and the Holocaust) was part of nine out of 43 central examinations in the Netherlands (21% of all examinations since 1973). See:

<http://histoforum.net/examen/oudeexamenonderwerpen.htm> (last consulted 1-7-2015).

⁵⁴⁶ Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 146-147.

on the persecutions.⁵⁴⁷ Also, war witnesses were invited to tell their personal stories at schools. Organizations for 'guest lecturers' emerged, like the in 1999 established *Landelijk Steunpunt Gast sprekers WO II-Heden* (National Organization Guest Lecturers WWII-present).⁵⁴⁸

In the period 1986-1995 teaching about WWII and the Holocaust became increasingly merged with general issues of human rights: antisemitism, discrimination of minorities, or racism. The state sponsored publication *De Tweede Wereldoorlog, Toen en Nu. Handboek voor docenten geschiedenis en maatschappijleer* (WWII, Then and Now, Handbook for History and Citizenship Teachers') can be seen as an example for this paradigmatic shift.⁵⁴⁹ Some, like the Camp Vught National Memorial, criticized this overall emphasis on general human rights, and believed it moved away too much from a 'regular' historical approach.⁵⁵⁰

Hondius believes that the period 1996-2010 has put forward some remarkable changes in the approach of the Holocaust in Dutch history education. In her view, teaching about WWII and the Holocaust has become more emotionalized, individualized and moralized.⁵⁵¹ In 2003 Homan and Van Praag analyzed WWII and the persecution of the Jews in history textbooks.⁵⁵² They indignantly pinpointed at the fact that in the textbooks Jews seemed to be excluded from 'normal' Dutch society, that generalizations were common and that Nazi illustrations and terminology were used in the textbooks. In some textbooks even, the Nazi concept of a 'Jewish race' was used without further explanations.⁵⁵³ Although topics like the role of the Dutch fascist party NSB, the deeper analysis of perpetrators, betrayal, assistance and collaboration of various groups and organization in Dutch society have been researched intensively over the last two decades, Hondius has claimed that these issues remain underdeveloped in Dutch history textbooks.⁵⁵⁴

Boersema and Schimmel (fellows at the international education platform 'Humanity in Action')⁵⁵⁵ were also unhappy with the quality of Dutch textbook representation of the Holocaust. In 2001 they pinpointed many mistakes from their textbook sample, as well as the absence of discussions on moral issues or exercises in empathy. Although textbooks mentioned basic information on the camps in Poland, there was little effort to explain the Holocaust as a broad European phenomenon. The studied textbooks approach the teaching of the moral aspects of the Holocaust in diverse ways yet rarely paid much attention to them. According to this research, textbook authors seemed to find it very hard to discuss the Holocaust properly, to get the facts right, to address moral questions or to enable students to make 'empathetic connections with people during those years'.⁵⁵⁶

Furthermore, Boersema and Schimmel, in reproducing state requirements in Holocaust education, claimed that teachers were required to transmit 'basic knowledge of the Holocaust, moral and civic choices, and strengthening students' empathy skills'. The problem, however, is that there were (and still are) no requirements as to the way in which this is supposed to be done, and that teachers are essentially free to do whatever they like,

⁵⁴⁷ Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 149.

⁵⁴⁸ <http://www.steunpuntgastspreekers.nl/index.html> (last consulted 1-7-2015).

⁵⁴⁹ Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 191.

⁵⁵⁰ Idem., 261.

⁵⁵¹ Idem., 309.

⁵⁵² Van Praag and Homan, *Tijd voor kwaliteit*.

⁵⁵³ Van Praag and Homan, *Tijd voor kwaliteit*, 36-37.

⁵⁵⁴ Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 264.

⁵⁵⁵ <http://www.humanityinaction.org/> (last consulted 1-10-2015).

⁵⁵⁶ <http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/8-challenging-dutch-holocaust-education-towards-a-curriculum-based-on-moral-choices-and-empathetic-capacity> (last consulted 1-7-2015).

as long as they comply with the curriculum. Some teachers claimed that they lacked the time and skills to treat the topic in sufficient depth. The researchers therefore pleaded for a 'national Holocaust curriculum': this might, in their view, lead to an improvement of the quality of Holocaust education.⁵⁵⁷

In 2010 a survey was held by a Dutch weekly *Elsevier* and by ResearchNed among 339 history teachers. 81 Percent of the interviewed indicated that their students believed that WWII was the 'most interesting subject of all history lessons'. Within this context, 74 percent claimed the Holocaust was the 'most interesting aspect' of the history of WWII. The researchers were satisfied with the quality of the textbooks, although they stated that the Holocaust 'gets a lot of attention'. Twenty-two percent of the interviewed teachers (working in the four largest cities in the Netherlands), however, claimed that it had become increasingly difficult to teach about the Holocaust. Some multicultural problems occurred in the class room context when dealing with this topic; some students refused to listen to the teacher, denied (aspects of) the Holocaust or implied parallels with Israeli politics towards Palestinians.⁵⁵⁸ From a Rotterdam survey among 305 students in secondary education with a range of ethnic minority backgrounds (42 nationalities) it was found that although most non-native or non-western students were keen to learn more about the development of religions or about global history, many of them were very much interested in the history of WWII and the Holocaust.⁵⁵⁹ In 2014, SLO surveyed upper grade students about their attitudes towards history as a school subject: it appeared that the war era still was the most popular topic among youngsters.⁵⁶⁰

The history of Germany before 1871 and after 1945 is underrepresented in history education in the Netherlands. Especially the focus on WWII and National Socialism seems to be formative for the identity of the Dutch nation. In nine of the last forty-three history exams the topic 'Germany / WWII' was stipulated (21%). Postwar Germany in only two. By doing so, Dutch students are taught that there are clear continuities in German history (nationalism, authoritarianism, antisemitism and militarism), without witnessing the modernization of German society after 1945. Such an indiscriminate approach also implies that there is a 'normal' path to democracy, which seems difficult to sustain. The colonial history of Britain, France or the Netherlands seems to prove otherwise.

3.4 Conclusion

Both in (West) Germany and the Netherlands, the experiences of WWII, National Socialism and the Holocaust were key elements in shaping the social, moral and political reconstruction of their post-war societies. After thousands of publications and discussions about the Holocaust, the topic has remained very controversial, about which both scholars and non-scholars argue thoroughly. In both countries, history education and history textbooks deal with this topic intensely.

In recent years, and especially after the September 11 attacks on the United States, education about National Socialism and the Holocaust in Germany and the Netherlands has encountered several difficulties. Increasing antisemitism, often connected to anti-Israeli

⁵⁵⁷ <http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/8-challenging-dutch-holocaust-education-towards-a-curriculum-based-on-moral-choices-and-empathetic-capacity> (last consulted 1-7-2015).

⁵⁵⁸ http://www.researchned.nl/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/ELS017_016-OORLOGSONDERW.pdf (last consulted 1-7-2015).

⁵⁵⁹ Grever, Pelzer, Haydn, 'High School Students' Views on History', 217-219.

⁵⁶⁰ Van der Kaap, *Hoe denken leerlingen in de Tweede Fase over het vak geschiedenis?*.

attitudes, sometimes obstruct teaching and learning about the Holocaust in both countries. Furthermore, eye witnesses are fading away, younger generations are experiencing a temporal distance to this past and the understanding of the historical events is increasingly being affected by fictional renditions and medialization. The abundance of (teaching) materials, however, does not mean that these encompass sustainable definitions of good educational practice.⁵⁶¹

Nowadays, in Germany, ideas about what young people ought to learn about National Socialism and the Holocaust are relatively undisputed. Many teachers in Germany (and elsewhere) try to combine historic learning with contemporary issues, like human rights issues or migration and the refugee crisis. In this sense, education in Germany is moving from 'learning about history' to 'learning from history'. Whether and how this connection can be produced, however, is a much-discussed topic. Teaching about Nazism therefore is not just about bringing students closer to contemporary German history; in addition it nourishes the pedagogical challenge of promoting civic education and a general awareness of basic human rights. Seventy years after the liberation of Auschwitz, the Holocaust is still the central point of reference of the historical self-image of Germany: one is truly German, as a newspaper has put it in January 2015, if one remembers the Nazi atrocities and decides to assume responsibility for this past.⁵⁶² It is difficult to see how in a country like Germany, where about one third of the students up to 15 years has a history of migration, young people should accept responsibility for a story that is not their own, or not even part of the history of their parents, grandparents or great-grandparents.⁵⁶³

In multicultural classrooms and multi-ethnic societies, opportunities for transnationalization of the Holocaust in education are immense. In this sense, remarks made by the president of North Rhine Westphalia, Hannelore Kraft, on the occasion of her visit to Yad Vashem in 2011 are significant: 'I belong to the generation ... that had nothing to do with the Nazi-system. Nevertheless, we have the obligation to cherish our special ties with Israel. The present young generation will do so too, even when they are called Serap or Murat'.⁵⁶⁴

Whereas in the Netherlands as well as in other European countries the call for establishing a more national history curriculum became widespread during the late 1990s, this was not the case in (West) Germany. Even though history educators and politicians in several publications hoped for more historical awareness among German youth, or even a sense of German identity, they also emphasized that German history is 'complicated' and that the German nation had not been the 'obvious result of historical developments'.⁵⁶⁵

Interestingly enough, to some degree this has led to a 'transnational' approach of education about WWII and the Holocaust in Germany, a development which still seems to be very remote from reality in the Netherlands. Historian Frits Boterman may have had a point when he claimed in 1998 that Dutch identity is 'closely associated with distance and

⁵⁶¹ Schmidt-Denter and Stubig, *Holocaust Education: Lehrplanrecherche, TV-Recherche und Untersuchungen*, 6-8.

⁵⁶² <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/holocaust-unterricht-ist-der-multikulturellen-realitaet-nicht-gerecht-13395636.html> (last consulted 7-6-2016).

⁵⁶³ <http://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/61646/migrationshintergrund-i> (last consulted 7-6-2016).

⁵⁶⁴ The original quote: "Ich gehöre der Generation an, die lange nach dem Kriegsende aufgewachsen ist und mit dem Nazi-System nichts mehr zu tun hatte. Trotzdem bleibt die Verpflichtung, die besonderen Beziehungen zu Israel zu pflegen. Das wird auch die jetzige junge Generation tun, selbst wenn sie Serap und Murat mit Vornamen heißt." (<http://www.rp-online.de/politik/deutschland/hannelore-kraft-und-christina-rau-das-passt-aid-1.2290097>) (last consulted 2-1-2017).

⁵⁶⁵ Wilschut, *Beelden van tijd*, 33.

proximity to our big neighbor' and that 'national identity is at risk if we abandon our anti-German feelings'.⁵⁶⁶ But it is doubtful whether these anti-German feelings still exist around 2010, the end of the research period of my study.

It is important to see whether these developments and transitions are being reflected in history textbooks. In the next two chapters I will present the empirical results of my research. Then it will also become clear to what extent the assumptions of historians concerning history education about the Holocaust were correct and whether my findings confirm earlier research. I will discuss a longitudinal and chronological overview of Holocaust narratives in history textbooks since 1960, as well as a comparison between the two countries.

⁵⁶⁶ Boterman, *Duitsland als Nederlands probleem* 28.

4 The One-Dimensional Holocaust in (West) German and Dutch History Textbooks, 1960-1980

In this chapter I shall compare the sample of history textbooks from North Rhine Westphalia and the Netherlands used in upper levels of secondary education between 1960 and 1980. I shall focus on similarities and differences between textbook representations of the Holocaust in the two countries. Beginning with the textbook's general features (see tables 4.1 and 4.3) and information on the main authors (see tables 4.2 and 4.4), I will then proceed to the ways in which the Holocaust has been described and explained in the textbooks and the sources and images the editors have used to represent and depict the events. Some major didactical developments will be examined and discussed from a comparative perspective.

In the third paragraph of this chapter I will discuss the historical embedding of the Holocaust in the textbooks, mainly by analyzing content development, describing the factual rendering of Holocaust events and processes, and by focusing on the questions whether and how the textbooks reflect upon the causes of the Holocaust. Also, I will examine whether the textbooks acknowledge academic debates on the Holocaust during and prior to the era in which they have been published and used in the class rooms. Furthermore, issues that are raised in the textbooks with regard to individual and collective responsibility will be discussed. Finally, I will outline the ways the perpetrators, victims and bystanders are portrayed. Coming back to Zerubavel's categorization of emplotment, I will focus on narrative plotlines of victimhood and agency.

4.1 Authors and history textbooks

West Germany

In 2003, German textbook studies pioneer Bodo von Borries looked back on his school days when analyzing a copy of the history textbook from his youth: *Kletts Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* (Stuttgart 1956). He was appalled by the tone as well as by the content of the textbook in dealing with National Socialism, WWII and the Holocaust. Exactly forty-seven words were dedicated to the persecution of the Jews, without referring to the antisemitic measures in Germany before the war. Instead, a lot of attention was given to the anti-clerical measures by the Nazis.⁵⁶⁷ In 1961 the same textbook had been rewritten: now Auschwitz had obtained two pages and the mass-shootings in Eastern Europe were mentioned. But still the German people seemed to be exonerated in the textbook: many of them 'had opposed the persecutions and most of them hadn't known about the crimes committed in the camps'.⁵⁶⁸

The picture Von Borries got from the analysis of the textbook from his childhood days seems to reflect general post-war attitudes in the historical culture in West Germany. As stated in chapter 2, it was widely felt by contemporaries that after the capitulation in May 1945 a 'new beginning' started in German history (*Stunde Null*). What we witness here is Zerubavel's notion of 'mnemonic cutting', introducing the

⁵⁶⁷ Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks', 50-52.

⁵⁶⁸ Idem, 52-53.

discontinuity between different episodes of the past.⁵⁶⁹ One seemed to witness a historical caesura after the collapse of National Socialism. In retrospect, this does not seem to be fully convincing. If we look at the textbook authors of the six history textbooks (fourteen editions) in the selected sample (see table 4.2), we notice that some of them were actively involved in the National Socialist movement or were deeply affected by the impact of WWII. The tenth edition of *Grundzüge der Geschichte* (*Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1961) for instance, was co-written by Andreas Hillgruber (1925-1989). Hillgruber was a historian and served in the German *Wehrmacht* from 1943 until 1945. During the years between 1945 and 1948 he was detained as a prisoner of war in France. During WWII, Hillgruber fought on the Eastern Front, an experience that may have played a significant role in his later assessment of the war. In 1945, Hillgruber fled west to escape the Red Army, another experience that might have influenced his scholarly work. Hillgruber eventually became professor at the University of Cologne (1972-1989). During the *Historikerstreit* he was considered one of the more conservative historians. Hillgruber compared the Holocaust with atrocities committed by Soviet troops during their advance in Germany at the end of the war. In doing so, he seemed to suggest that the Holocaust had been just one of many horrific events during the war. Furthermore he stated that the mass murders had rather been the result of Hitler's personal engagement than due to long-standing feelings of antisemitism in Germany, or the alacrity with which many Germans welcomed Nazi policies. Indeed, the textbook mentions that 'existing antisemitism was intensified and radicalized by National Socialism', leading up to the 'attempt [by the Nazis] to displace all Jews from Germany and finally their physical extermination' (*Ausrottung*).⁵⁷⁰

In other publications, Hillgruber stressed the 'barbaric' nature of Nazi leadership, in sharp contrast to the 'heroic' *Wehrmacht* soldiers who had tried to fight back the Red Army and to resist the 'orgy of revenge' the Soviets allegedly were after.⁵⁷¹ Especially in his controversial 1986 essay *Der Zusammenbruch im Osten 1944/45 als Problem der deutschen Nationalgeschichte und der europäischen Geschichte* ('The Collapse in the East 1944/45 as a Problem in German National and European History') from his publication *Zweierlei Untergang. Die Zerschlagung des Deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums* ('Two Kinds of Downfall. The Crushing of the German Reich and the End of European Jewry'), Hillgruber addressed the expulsion of Germans from Eastern Europe, as well as to the atrocities committed by Soviet troops. For Hillgruber, the loss of German territories in the east, the region where he had spent his youth, had had nothing to do with responding to Nazi atrocities, but instead were part of a premeditated Anglo-American attempt to eliminate Germany's central role in the heart of Europe and thereby reducing Germany from a great power to a Cold War battlefield between the United States and the Soviet Union.

To judge Hillgruber on just one of his many publications on WWII and Nazism would be limited and potentially unfair, as British historian Ian Kershaw has mentioned. Yet his attempt to 'normalize' the history of National Socialism, meaning treating it methodologically just as other eras in world history, had in Hillgruber's case led to a 'surplus of empathy' for German victimhood. Lacking historical distancing and critical reflection, Kershaw states, Hillgruber had 'drawn questionable conclusions'.⁵⁷² In West Germany, Hillgruber was heavily criticized - within the context of the *Historikerstreit* -

⁵⁶⁹ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 82.

⁵⁷⁰ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* VII 1961, 55.

⁵⁷¹ Hillgruber, *Zweierlei Untergang*, 36.

⁵⁷² Kershaw, *Hitler, de Duitsers en de Holocaust*, 295-306.

by the editor of *Der Spiegel* Rudolf Augstein, who called him a ‘constitutional Nazi’: ‘for such an historian, the extermination of the European Jews is ‘embedded in the downfall of the Germans’. Every teacher who communicates this to his students, should be reported’.⁵⁷³ Social scientist Jürgen Habermas was likewise dismissive in a newspaper article in 1986: ‘*Ich notiere die Selbstbeobachtung eines Patienten, der sich einer revisionistischen Operation seines Geschichtsbewusstseins unterzieht*’ (‘I notice the introspection of a patient undergoing revisionist surgery of his historical consciousness’).⁵⁷⁴

Table 4.1: General features of West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Title	Publishing Company	Year of first release / year of current publication ⁵⁷⁵	Percentage of academics ⁵⁷⁶ among the authors	Total number of pages
GdG 1960	<i>Grundzüge der Geschichte VII</i>	Verlag Moritz Diesterweg	1951/ 9th edition (unchanged) 1960	100%	259
GdG 1961	<i>Grundzüge der Geschichte VII</i>	Verlag Moritz Diesterweg	1951/10th edition 1961: (revised ‘according to new academic research’)	100%	116
GUW 1966	<i>Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk für höhere Lehranstalten. Oberstufe, Ausgabe G, Band III. Weltkriege und Weltordnung im 20. Jahrhundert.</i>	Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Hermann Schroedel KG (Hannover)	1963/ Second edition 1966	88%	174
ZuM 1970	<i>Zeiten und Menschen, Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk.</i>	Schöningh Schroedel	1970/ 1 st print 1970, 1 st edition (and 1971, 1972, 1973, 1976 and 1983 unchanged editions)	67%	440
GR 1973	<i>Grundriß der Geschichte II</i>	Ernst Klett	1951/ 15 th print 1973, 3 rd edition (and 4 th and 5 th unchanged editions 1978, 1987)	83%	344
PuG 1978	<i>Politik und Gesellschaft</i>	Hirschgraben	1978/ 7 th edition	67%	376

⁵⁷³ ‘Bei solch einem Historiker ist die Auslöschung der europäischen Juden “eingebunden in diesen Untergang der Deutschen”. Jeden Lehrer, der seinen Schülern derlei vermittelt, müßte man des Schuldienstes verweisen’ (<http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13519376.html> (last consulted 30-11-2015)).

⁵⁷⁴ Habermas, ‘Eine Art Schadensabwicklung’, 63.

⁵⁷⁵ In the analysis, references are made to the current publication of the textbook.

⁵⁷⁶ With the term ‘academics’ I refer to those textbook authors whose main professional activities were related to research and teaching at universities.

Table 4.2: Biographical information on West German textbook authors 1960-1980⁵⁷⁷

Textbook	Biographical information on textbook authors 1960-1980
GdG 1960	Dr. Phil. Habil. Ernst Busch . Busch was director of the <i>Staatliche Max-Planck-Schule Düsseldorf</i> .
GdG 1961	Ernst Busch and Andreas Hillgruber . Hillgruber (1925-1989) studied at the <i>University of Göttingen</i> , where he received a PhD in 1952. He spent the decade 1954-1964 working as school teacher. Hillgruber worked as a professor at the <i>University of Marburg</i> (1965-1968), the <i>University of Freiburg</i> (1968-1972) and the <i>University of Cologne</i> (1972-1989).
GUW 1966	Dr. R. H. Tenbrock, Prof. Dr. H.E. Stier, Prof. Dr. K. Thieme, unter Mitarbeit von Dr. B. Bendfeld, Dr. W. Fenske, J. Immisch, Dr. H. Thierbach, Dr. A. Voelske, Dr. H. Wachendorf. Tenbrock (1908-1995) was a German historian, author and teacher. Stier (1902-1979) was appointed lecturer at the <i>University of Berlin</i> in 1935, from 1935 to 1945 he became associate professor and since 1945 professor of Ancient History at the <i>University of Münster</i> . From January until October 1946 he was alderman of the city of Münster, after which he was Deputy Chairman of the CDU Münster, member of the CDU Westphalia and state board member. From 1946-1970 Stier was member of the Provincial Diet in North Rhine Westphalia. ⁵⁷⁸ Thieme (1902-1963) was professor in European history at the <i>Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz</i> .
ZuM 1970	Dr. R. H. Tenbrock, Prof. Dr. K. Kluxen (1911-2003), Prof. Dr. H.E. Stier (unter Mitarbeit von Dr. B. Bendfeld, Dr. W. Fenske, E. Goerlitz, W. Grütter, J. Immisch, Dr. A. Voelske. Kluxen had been a primary school teacher in Pomerania between 1935 and 1938. After the war he studied history, philosophy and German in Cologne and in 1949 he received his doctorate with a thesis on the political thought of Machiavelli. In 1950 he became professor at the <i>Pedagogical University Bonn</i> , in 1960 at the <i>University of Cologne</i> . In 1961 he was appointed Chair of Medieval and Modern History at the <i>University of Erlangen- Nuremberg</i> . ⁵⁷⁹
GR 1973	Dr. G. Bonwetsch, Dr. J. Dittrich, Dr. E. Dittrich-Gallmeister, Prof. Dr. H.H. Eberle, Prof. Dr. H. Gundel, Prof. Dr. H. Herzfeld, K. Leonhardt, Dr. K. Krüger, Prof. D. Dr. G. Ritter, Prof. Dr. F. Schnabel, Dr. E. Wilmanns, G. Wilmanns. Bonwetsch (1885-1956) was a historian, author of textbooks and school leader. Gundel (1912-1999) was a professor in ancient history at the University of Gießen. Herzfeld (1892-1982) was a historian and became professor at the University of Halle. Although a member of the SA, Herzfeld lost his teaching qualifications in 1938 because of his Jewish background. In 1943 he was arrested by the Gestapo, but released after a few months. In 1950 he became professor at the Freie Universität Berlin, where he founded the <i>Institut für Berliner Zeitgeschichte</i> . Leonhardt started the series before the war. Krüger (1907-1997) was a teacher, textbook author (Middle Ages) and expert in didactics. He started teaching in 1937 in the city of Detmold, and therefore joined the NSDAP. During the war, he served in the Wehrmacht. In 1949 he became board member of the newly founded Association of History Teachers in Germany. Schnabel (1887-1966) was professor at the <i>Technical University Karlsruhe</i> . His opus magnus is the <i>Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten</i>

⁵⁷⁷ Not all authors' biographical details were retrievable.⁵⁷⁸http://www.landtag.nrw.de/portal/WWW/Webmaster/GB_I/I.1/Abgeordnete/Ehemalige_Abgeordnete/details.jsp?k=00872 (last consulted 13-1-2014).⁵⁷⁹ http://www.presse.uni-erlangen.de/infocenter/presse/pressemitteilungen/personalmeldungen_2003/personalia/3147kluxenverst.shtml (last consulted 13-1-2014).

PuG 1978	<p><i>Jahrhundert</i>. Schnabel was 'one of the few true republican authors of history textbooks during the Weimar Republic'. After the war he continued his textbook writing at Ernst Klett Verlag.⁵⁸⁰</p> <p>Dr. Wanda Kampmann, Dr. Udo Margedant, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang W. Mickel, Gerhard Truxa, Dr. Berthold Wiegand.</p> <p>Kampmann (1903-1978) was a German historian and didactician; one of her publications is <i>Deutsche und Juden : Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Judentums</i> published in 1963. Margedant (1942) was associate professor in social history at <i>Bergischen Universität Wuppertal</i>. Mickel (1929-2005) was professor in political science and didactics at <i>Pädagogischen Hochschule Karlsruhe</i> and <i>Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg</i> and <i>Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen</i>.</p>
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Another example concerns Gerhard Bonwetsch (1885-1956), historian, school director and author of a series of textbooks called *Grundriß der Geschichte II (GR 1973)*.

Bonwetsch had been one of the main authors of *Der Grundriß der Geschichte für die Oberstufe* (B. G. Teubner Verlag), the most successful history textbook in Germany during the Weimar Republic. After the war the series was continued at Ernst Klett publishing house. During the Weimar Republic, Bonwetsch belonged to the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (DNVP), a nationalist, conservative and sometimes openly antisemitic political party. After WWII he became the first chairman of the re-founded Association of History Teachers in Germany. In this position, Bonwetsch did not reflect much on his or the Association's anti-democratic attitudes before and during the war.⁵⁸¹

Werner Conze (1910-1986) was also part of the team of authors that conceived the textbook *Grundriß der Geschichte* (from 1951 onwards). The accompanying *Quellen- und Arbeitshefte* ('sources and assignment booklets') provide sources, of which the authors state that they will help the students to 'understand the main historical problems and processes through contemporary eyewitness reports'.⁵⁸² There are two volumes on National Socialism, both put together by historian Conze. He had joined the NSDAP in the late 1930s. During the war, Conze became an officer who actively participated in ethnic cleansing operations in Eastern Europe. In 1936, he had prepared a document in which Poland was portrayed as 'backward and in need of German discipline' and that recommended the exclusion of Jews from the legal system because, in Conze's words, they were 'outlaws'. In further work, issued in 1938, Conze continued in similar vein, blaming industrial backwardness in Belarus on 'Jewish domination'. In a series of articles issued between 1937 and 1940, Conze proposed the *Entjudung* ('de-Judaification') of Eastern Europe, particularly in Lithuania and Belarus. He looked down upon the Polish population as being 'degenerated' and engaging in 'vegetative reproduction', mainly because of negative Jewish influences on the rural population. In 1938, at the age of 27, Conze volunteered for army services. During WWII, he first fought in France where he got wounded. During his recovery at a military hospital he completed a book on 'agrarian structures and the population in Lithuania and Belarus'. The study resulted in his *Habilitation* at the University of Vienna. Conze then fought at the Eastern Front, ending up in a Soviet prisoner of war camp. After the war, Conze taught at the universities of Göttingen, Münster, and - from 1957 to his retirement in 1979 - in Heidelberg. He was president of the German Society of Historians from 1972-

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<https://portal.dnb.de/opac.htm?method=simpleSearch&cqlMode=true&reset=true&referrerPosition=0&referrerResultId=partOf%3D454417810%26any&query=idn%3D454417810> (last consulted 9-5-2015).

⁵⁸¹ Günther and Leidinger, 'Gerhard Bonwetsch (1885-1956)', 286 ff.

⁵⁸² *Grundriß 1973*, 264 and Conze, *Der Nationalsozialismus* Teil II, 1.

1976. Conze's involvement in Nazi plans of ethnic cleansing in Central and Eastern Europe, however, remained largely concealed after the war.⁵⁸³

It is difficult to see how the combination of such deep rooted personal involvement with the war, together with the abrupt end of National Socialism and postwar reorientation in West Germany, could create the possibility of an open debate on complicity, responsibility and guilt with regard to Nazi crimes. Although it was long believed that only a minority of German historians had been active campaigners of the pseudo-historical ideology of National Socialism, the latest findings prove quite the opposite.⁵⁸⁴ Historians who were among the most productive and influential during the first decades of the Federal Republic, had been trained under and rendered academic services to the racist and totalitarian Nazi regime. Apart from Werner Conze, historians Karl Dietrich Erdmann and Theodor Schieder were likewise prominent academics in postwar Germany. All eight presidents of the Association of German Historians (nowadays *Verband der Historiker und Historikerinnen Deutschlands, VHD*⁵⁸⁵) between 1932 and 1976 were former members of the Nazi party or the SS, or could be linked to extreme nationalism and conservatism.⁵⁸⁶ Under Nazi rule, Karl-Dietrich Erdmann (cited in one of the textbooks from this sample)⁵⁸⁷ had written the fifth part (*Die Geschichte der Zweiten und Dritten Reiches von 1871 bis zur Gegenwart* or 'History of the Second and Third Reich 1871 to the present') of a history textbook called *Das Erbe der Ahnen* ('Heirs of Ancestors'). In this textbook published in 1938, Erdmann proved to be a loyal National Socialist and called the Jews 'declared enemies and symptoms of decay'.⁵⁸⁸ Some more recent academic studies (although strongly contested) even named some of these historians (as well as other Nazi academics and civil servants) 'Architects of Annihilation', which is the title of the 2002 English translation of Götz Aly and Susanne Heim's original publication.⁵⁸⁹

Of course there were also German historians (and textbook authors) who had opposed the Nazi regime. One of them, Robert-Hermann Tenbrock (1908-1995),⁵⁹⁰ was a German historian, author and teacher. He was critical towards National Socialism, yet worked as an interpreter of English during the war and later as interrogation and intelligence officer. During the Allied invasion in 1944 he was employed in occupied France as a specialist in interrogating prisoners of war. From the 1950s onwards he

⁵⁸³ Dunkhase, Werner Conze. *Ein deutscher Historiker im 20. Jahrhundert*, passim.

⁵⁸⁴ See Aly, 'Theodor Schieder, Werner Conze oder Die Vorstufen der physischen Vernichtung', 163–182 and Haar, 'Historiker im Nationalsozialismus'.

⁵⁸⁵ The VHD was originally founded in 1895, and re-established in 1948 (<http://www.historikerverband.de/>) (last consulted 7-9-2016).

⁵⁸⁶ 1932–1937: Karl Brandt, 1937–1945: Walter Platzhoff, 1949–1953: Gerhard Ritter, 1953–1958: Hermann Aubin, 1958–1962: Hans Rothfels, 1962–1967: Karl Dietrich Erdmann, 1967–1972: Theodor Schieder, 1972–1976: Werner Conze (see Haar, 'Historiker im Nationalsozialismus'). Jewish born Königsberg historian Hans Rothfels (1891-1976) had voted for Hitler in the 1932 presidential elections. Later, he was pushed aside by the Nazis and managed to emigrate to Great-Britain, and then to the United States. After the war, Rothfels became accused of 'being close to Nazism' as well as of 'being a convinced antidemocrat' (<http://www.zeit.de/2006/04/P-Eckel>) (last consulted 7-3-2017). In 1953, Rothfels, together with other historians (like Erdmann and Conze) founded the prestigious academic journal on contemporary history *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*. From the beginning, the journal was intended for a 'critical confrontation with National Socialism' (see <http://www.ifz-muenchen.de/vierteljahrshefte/ueber-uns/profil-und-geschichte/>) (last consulted 1-3-2017).

⁵⁸⁷ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1961, 67.

⁵⁸⁸ Wolfrum, *Geschichte als Waffe*, 52-53 and Vom Lehn, 'Westdeutsche und italienische Historiker als Intellektuelle?', 67-68.

⁵⁸⁹ Aly and Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung*.

⁵⁹⁰ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966 and *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970.

published several textbooks for history education. In 1961 he became director of the Leibniz-Gymnasium in Wiesbaden. In 1969 he founded the *Robert-Hermann-Tenbrock-Preis* for 'model didactical methods based on the latest results of scientific research of the history of the European family of nations in a historical work...'. The price was awarded for the first time in 1972.⁵⁹¹ One other textbook author was Karl Thieme (1902-1963)⁵⁹², who lectured at the *Hochschule für Politik* in Berlin and the *Pädagogischen Akademie* in Elbing. In 1933 – through his opposition to National Socialism – he was dismissed and emigrated to Switzerland in 1935. During his absence he published on Nazism and called upon the public to take a stand against the contemporary antisemitism and the persecution of Jews in Germany. After the war Thieme became professor in European history at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz.⁵⁹³

In general, however, many historians and educators believed after the war that the best thing to do was to forget and ignore National Socialism and let it become part of a past that was divested of any human characteristics or individuality.⁵⁹⁴ This inability to acknowledge the contested past is reflected (especially) in the early textbooks. In West German textbooks of the first decades after the war, the main texts deal with the persecution of the Jews and other Nazi war crimes by keeping a certain 'safe' distance towards matters of collective or individual responsibility. All textbooks consider the real criminals and docile Hitler supporters to be a minority; the true totalitarian and racial character of the regime was supposed to be 'withheld' from the German public. According to many of the textbooks, some even tried to stop the persecutions: the churches, the educated middle class and even members of the *Wehrmacht*.⁵⁹⁵ In only one of the textbooks from the sample (*Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1961), references are being made to public discussions on collective German responsibility for the war crimes, such as the *Stuttgarter Schuldbekennntnis*⁵⁹⁶ in which the council of evangelical churches announced a 'solidarity of guilt' in October 1945: 'no German can free himself from the

⁵⁹¹ The price was awarded to scholars who design and write textbooks within the context of European integration ('für eine vorbildlich didaktisch-methodische und auf den neuesten Ergebnissen der wissenschaftlichen Forschung beruhende Darstellung der Geschichte der europäischen Völkerfamilie in einem Geschichtswerk konzipiert für Schüler, unabhängig von der Schulform, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der wirtschaftlichen und politischen Integrationsbestrebungen der jüngsten Vergangenheit'). For this matter, the Braunschweig-based Georg-Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research has installed a Robert-Hermann-Tenbrock-scholarship, for academics and textbook authors who work on international textbook research or produce teaching materials in the fields of history, geography or social sciences (see http://www.kulturpreise.de/web/preise_info.php?preisd_id=2466, last consulted 2-12-15) and Simon, 'Robert-Hermann Tenbrock, Historiker, Lehrer und Schulbuchautor'.

⁵⁹² *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966.

⁵⁹³ <https://portal.dnb.de/opac.htm?method=simpleSearch&cqlMode=true&query=idn%3D124864368> (last consulted 9-5-2015).

⁵⁹⁴ Theodor Adorno lectured in 1959 (*Was bedeutet: Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit?* Or 'What 'Does Dealing With The Past Mean?') that the structures and mindsets that had made Auschwitz possible in the first place, had been *aufgehoben*, meaning that it had dialectically emerged in a post-war synthesis and therewith 'brought onto a higher level' (Heyl, 'Duitse herinneringscultuur', 227-228, 232 and 235).

⁵⁹⁵ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* VII 1960, 175, *Grundzüge der Geschichte* VII 1961, 82, *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 122, *Grundriß der Geschichte* 1973, 264, *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 3, *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 175.

⁵⁹⁶ With the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt (October 1945), the newly formed Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD), acknowledged the conviction that evangelical Christians were complicit in the crimes of National Socialism. One of its authors was theologian Martin Niemöller. Wolfrum states that the *Bekennntnis* triggered more criticism and incomprehension than consent. The publication sparked so much outrage, that many Germans initially believed it was a fake. Not only evangelical Christians feared that this public statement might induce harsh reprisals by the Allies (Wolfrum, *Geschichte als Waffe*, 58).

burden of responsibility from these crimes that were committed in the name of the nation'. And: 'we accuse ourselves for not having been more courageous, not having prayed more faithfully, not having believed more joyfully and not having loved more zealously' [translation MvB].⁵⁹⁷

The six West German textbooks (fourteen editions) that are analyzed for this chapter were all formally accepted in North Rhine Westphalia through official admittance by the *Kultusministerium* of the state. As stated before, schools in (West) Germany can and could only use textbooks that are or were officially approved. The first two from this sample are *Grundzüge der Geschichte VII (Von der Französischen Revolution 1789 bis zur Gegenwart)* (*Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1960 and the revised edition *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1961) (**GdG 1960** and **GdG 1961**). These textbooks contain respectively 259 and 116 pages, are printed in black and white print and include some illustrations. Every chapter is linked to a *Arbeits- und Quellenheft für den Geschichtsunterricht* ('exercises and sources for history education'). This additional booklet contains 29 questions about the history of Germany between 1930 and 1945, but none on Nazi atrocities against the Jews. Some sources about Nazism are included: the party program of the NSDAP of 1920, and an excerpt from a *Denkschrift Adolf Hitlers* ('Memorandum by Adolf Hitler') from 1923, but none specifically on antisemitism. At the end of the textbook a 'comparative chronology' is included. The textbook states that 'history makes sense because we learn of all histories, not because we believe in some sort of utopist progression'.⁵⁹⁸

The third textbook is *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk für höhere Lehranstalten. Oberstufe, Ausgabe G, Band III (Weltkriege und Weltordnung im 20. Jahrhundert)* (**GUW 1966**). This second edition from 1966 contains 174 pages, in black and white print, some illustrations and additional personal and thematic indexes.

Of *Zeiten und Menschen, Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk. Die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der Gegenwart, 1776 bis heute (Band 2)* (**ZuM 1970**), I have analyzed the editions from 1970 (first print), as well as the unchanged editions from 1971, 1972, 1973, 1976 and 1983. In 1986, a new and revised textbook was published. That means that content and didactics of *Zeiten und Menschen* have not been changed for a period of sixteen years, a remarkably long period of time. The textbook contains 440 pages, is printed in black and white (and some colored illustrations). *Zeiten und Menschen* consists of two parts: a *Darstellenden Teil* (pages 1-177) and a *Arbeits teil* (pages 177-425). The *Darstellenden Teil* is the factual content, the *Arbeits teil* (printed on yellow paper) contains primary and secondary sources (academic research), statistics and special maps. The books are thematically organized, rather than chronologically. Every chapter contains reading texts and sources which are prefixed by an overview of relevant literature. The *Darstellenden Teil* does not contain elaborate description of facts, because the authors believe that by experiencing gaps in the transmission of knowledge, students are encouraged and motivated to raise questions. Through critical reading as well as through the analysis of primary and secondary sources in the *Arbeits teil*, students get acquainted with historical skills and can develop discernment. Many historians are cited; through historical disputes students develop an 'open and inquiring mind.' The authors strongly suggest that teachers collect historical publications in libraries or 'encourage students to buy pocket versions'.⁵⁹⁹ The book contains thematic and personal indexes. The textbook is accompanied by a teacher's

⁵⁹⁷ *Grundzüge der Geschichte VII* 1961, 82.

⁵⁹⁸ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1960, 1.

⁵⁹⁹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 (Hinweise und Interpretationen), 6-8.

guide called *Zeiten und Menschen. Hinweise und Interpretationen* (edited by Werner Grüter (2nd edition 1976). This book contains 559 pages and is printed in black and white. The teacher's guide contains elaborate reading lists, as well as sources and teaching suggestions. At the end, all illustrations used in the students' textbooks are explained.⁶⁰⁰

Grundriß der Geschichte II (Von der bürgerlichen Revolutionen bis zur Gegenwart. Für die Oberstufe der höheren Schulen. Gekürzte, zweibändige Ausgabe B) (GR 1973) has 344 pages, is printed in black and white and contains some illustrations as well as a thematic index. At the end of the textbook a chronological timetable is added. This volume contains history from the American Revolution until the 1970s. The consequences of the industrialization and the French Revolution are emphasized in this edition. That is why economic and social history and connected sociological problems are accentuated. There is a difference between capital letters and small print: students are able to have a quick orientation on the topic and use small print to look deeper into the matter. Through the *Würdigungen* (smaller text abstracts) the latest academic findings are summarized, which may serve as themes for discussion or critical thoughts. The accompanying *Quellen- und Arbeitshefte* provide sources. There are two volumes on National Socialism, edited by Werner Conze (part I sixth editions 1973, 1978, 1979, 1982, 89 pages and part II second editions 1973, 1978, 1979, 1982, 121 pages). The textbook regularly refers to these sources. The *Judenpolitik und -ausrottung* ('policies on and extermination of Jews') has now received a separate section in the booklet. This needs no justification, Conze states, because in 'one of the sources Hitler claims that antisemitism is the centre of his ideology'.⁶⁰¹ The textbook contains much information on the dichotomy between totalitarianism and democracy. Academic virtues are important: the latest discussions are included and the textbook uses footnotes that either refer to academic publications or additional information on a certain topic.

The last textbook from the West German selection concerns *Politik und Gesellschaft. Grundlagen und Probleme der modernen Welt. Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch für den historisch-politischen Lernbereich (Sekundarstufe II), Band 2 (PuG 1978)*. It has 376 pages, is printed in black and white with some illustrations and personal and thematic indexes. The textbook has a chronological timetable and a bibliography at the end. The authors refer to the need for 'critical behaviour towards texts': for instance, students need to know who the author of a certain text is, or what the purpose of the text is. The book is not categorized in chronological order: 'history is more than a progressive and causal chain of events'. The authors state that historical science has changed over the last years because of influences of social sciences. Their choice of topics in the textbook follows the current findings of historical-political science, didactical developments and theories on the curriculum. The title of the textbook ('Politics and Society') refers to the mingling of political, economic and social forces in history until the present. The aim of the textbook is to encourage in the students a motivation for history as a subject and to stimulate their abilities to solve problems by discussing historical and political topics, e.g. through analysing controversial sources or working through the section called *Problem und Diskussion* ('problem and discussion') at the end of each chapter. Here, questions on present-day topics are discussed. The textbook claims that the past ought not to be 'misused for understanding or interpreting the present': the past has to be professionally examined within its proper context. Historical insights, however, can

⁶⁰⁰ For literature and sources on Chapter VII ('Faschismus') see *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 (Hinweise und Interpretationen), 347-411, for explanation of illustrations on Chapter VII, 550-553.

⁶⁰¹ Werner Conze, *Der Nationalsozialismus* Teil II, 1973, 1.

prevent 'a-historic and present-centred contemporaries from being manipulated'. Through history education therefore, students can become 'critical, rational and politically mature, autonomous and participative, tolerant and able citizens'.⁶⁰²

In sum, this sample contains mainly textbooks that contain a political approach to history. Some didactical innovations have been pursued; primary sources were added to the textbooks, sometimes in separate publications, therewith challenging students to write their own narratives and to do some research, reflect, and develop an orientation towards historical methods.

The Netherlands

As described in chapter three, new pedagogical approaches to history education in secondary schools in the Netherlands appeared during the 1950s and 1960s. Semi-concentric textbooks were developed, and in 1955 the first exercise books were published.⁶⁰³ In this sample of nine textbooks, the oldest Dutch history textbook is *Schakels met het Voorgeslacht*, published in 1960 (**SCH 1960**). It was intended for *VHMO*, a collective term referring to secondary education before the reorganizational *Mammoetwet* of 1968 (see chapter 3). Some related forms of secondary education in the Netherlands were meant by 'VHMO' (Voorbereidend Hoger en Middelbaar Onderwijs'). This abbreviation stands for 'Higher Preparatory and Secondary Schools', a category consisting of gymnasium, lyceum, HBS and MMS. With the introduction of the Education Act in 1968, the VHMO was succeeded by schools in *VWO* (Preparatory Academic Education).⁶⁰⁴ *Schakels met het Voorgeslacht* contains 348 pages, all printed in black and white. Some illustrations and maps are included. There are no exercises for the students. Appendices are included on the United Nations, Dutch political parties and on possibilities of doing historical research in the State Archives, the Royal Library and other institutions. The single author of this textbook was Jaap Meijer (1912-1993). Meijer was a Dutch Jewish historian, essayist and poet, and father of the later well-known journalist Ischa Meijer. Jaap Meijer studied history and later – from 1941 until 1943 – he worked as a teacher at the Jewish Lyceum in Amsterdam (Anne Frank was one of his students). He played a role in the Zionist youth movement and obtained his PhD in 1941 after researching Isaac da Costa's road to Christianity. Meijer, together with his wife and son, survived deportation to and imprisonment in the concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen. After the war he emigrated to Surinam, where he worked as a rabbi. After his return to the Netherlands, he wrote a large number of studies on Dutch Jewry. In this textbook, however, Meijer spends exactly two lines on the Holocaust. The persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands during WWII, which he and his family experienced at first hand, apparently could not be discussed (see for more on this §4.4).⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰² *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, preface.

⁶⁰³ Toebe, *Geschiedenis: een Vak Apart?*, 249-250.

⁶⁰⁴ <http://www.cbs.nl/NR/rdonlyres/42967DE5-E325-4F7F-B1CF-DB5B076EE943/0/2006k4b15p010art.pdf> (last consulted 12-12-2013).

⁶⁰⁵ http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bork001schr01_01/bork001schr01_01_0761.php (last consulted 12-12-2013). See for more on Jaap Meijer: Eveline Gans, *Jaap en Ischa Meijer. Een joodse geschiedenis 1912-1956* (Amsterdam 2008).

Table 4.3: General features of Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Title	Publishing Company	Year of first release / year of current publication	Percentage of academics among the authors	Total number of pages
SCH 1960	<i>Schakels met het Voorgeslacht. Beknopt Leerboek voor de Algemene en vaderlandse Geschiedenis voor het VHMO (mms, hbs, gymnasium)</i>	J.M. Meulenhoff (protestant)	1960/1960	100%	348
De Wereld 1960	<i>De Wereld van Vroeger en Nu. Leerboek voor de Algemene en Vaderlandse Geschiedenis.</i>	W. Versluys (protestant)	1955/2 nd edition 1960	0%	415
De Mens 1968	<i>De Mens en zijn Tijd. De laatste vijftig jaar.</i>	L.C.G. Malmberg (catholic)	1968 1 st print	0%	296
MeM 1970	<i>Mensen en Machten. Leergang Geschiedenis in zes delen voor het voortgezet onderwijs (4 VWO)</i>	Meulenhoff Educatief (protestant)	1970/1970	50%	280
MeM 1971	<i>Mensen en Machten. Leergang Geschiedenis in zes delen voor het voortgezet onderwijs (5 VWO)</i>	Meulenhoff Educatief (protestant)	1971/1971	50%	638
WiW 1972	<i>Novem Wereld in Wording. Van 1919 tot heden, deel 4 HAVO/VWO</i>	Van Goor Zonen	1972/1972	77%	296
MeM 1974	<i>Mensen en Machten. Leergang Geschiedenis in zes delen voor het voortgezet onderwijs (5/6 VWO)</i>	Meulenhoff Educatief (protestant)	1970/ first print, second edition 1974	50%	638
GiO 1978	<i>Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen (4/5 HAVO)</i>	Meulenhoff Educatief (protestant)	1978/ 1 st print, 5 th edition 1978	77%	391
GiO 1979	<i>Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen (4/5 VWO)</i>	Meulenhoff Educatief (protestant)	1978/ 1 st print, 3 rd edition 1979	77%	421

De Wereld van Vroeger en Nu. Leerboek voor de Algemene en Vaderlandse Geschiedenis (Deel III Nieuwste Geschiedenis) (**De Wereld 1960**) is intended for higher secondary education (gymnasium and HBS-B) as well as for teacher training colleges for primary education. Part III consists of 415 pages and covers the nineteenth (post-Napoleonic) and twentieth centuries. The (protestant) authors tend to be slightly pessimistic about 'progress': they state that the 'conviction that reason and Enlightenment can bring comfort and joy to humanity is a notion that Rousseau already dared to challenge'. Science, art, luxury and civilization are also to be mistrusted: 'luxury is useless and caresses only our vanity'; and while 'the darker sides of religion are vanishing', there is 'still much injustice in a secularized world'. One example the authors give is 'the noble savage who is being exploited by the 'civilized' but untrustworthy Europeans'. They warn students to be careful with the past: 'romantics escape from the present and use the past as a refuge'.⁶⁰⁶

The 1968 textbook *De Mens en zijn Tijd. De laatste vijftig jaar* (**De Mens 1968**) has 296 pages, is printed in black and white, and includes primary sources, reading and discussion texts. There are very few illustrations. Author R. G. van Damme believes that the purpose of history education should be to 'convey historical insight in global problems that students witness every day'. Memorizing facts and dates is not the best way of dealing with this basic aim, more important is to 'acquire insights in changes in mentalities, as well as in the development of ideas and societies'. *Knowing* what has happened is considered to be less important than *understanding* the times we live in. History is not just the 'stringing of facts and events', but it deals with the 'reflection of humanity which involves everyone and that entails collective responsibility'. Nevertheless, Van Damme continues, 'providing knowledge on historical developments of the last fifty years is required by law'. This is therefore the basic material of the textbook. But if 'one has to study the history of the last fifty years, one has to begin before 1900'. Cultural history is not included; it would only have led to a summing up of names and trends. Every country is being treated separately; some of the reading texts or discussion texts (included after every paragraph) can be used for illumination of one of the aspects of the subject-matter. Exercises are included in order to practice factual knowledge and improve students' self-activity.⁶⁰⁷

A 'long seller' in the Dutch history textbook market was *Mensen en Machten* (**MeM 1970, MeM 1971, MeM 1974**). Here, three versions of the textbook have been analyzed: Part IV for 4 VWO (**MeM 1970**, 280 pages, black and white with illustrations), Part V for 5 VWO (**MeM 1971**, 638 pages, mainly black and white with illustrations) and the revised, virtually unchanged second edition of Part V (**MeM 1974**, 638 pages, mainly black and white with illustrations). In 1962, Meulenhoff publishers looked for authors with university backgrounds, and found then PhD-candidate F.E.M. Vercauteren. Originally, the textbook was intended for undergraduates, but soon an edition for advanced levels appeared. The textbook was a commercial success (although market shares are unknown) until its last appearance in 1995.⁶⁰⁸ The authors tried to develop the book according to the demands of the examination program for students of the highest grades of VWO. This textbook was one of the first that used authentic texts, primary documents, illustrations, maps and graphics in an attempt to 'train students to digest historical material in their own ways'. Yet, the authors of *Mensen en Machten* believed that the historical context remains important, and 'hopefully leads to synthesis

⁶⁰⁶ *De Wereld* 1960, preface.

⁶⁰⁷ *De Mens* 1968, 119-120.

⁶⁰⁸ Van Oudheusden, 'Gesprek met Frans Vercauteren', 9.

and the discovery of interrelated matters'. Bibliographical notes are added for those who wish to read more on the subject.⁶⁰⁹

After the war, a group of nine Dutch history teachers from the The Hague area regularly got together in order to give a new, 'depillarised' and non-denominational impetus to history education. These educational professionals originated from different backgrounds: there was a catholic priest, a liberal, an anthroposophist, a social-democrat, some Dutch Reformed teachers, and one female Jewish teacher. They decided to conceive a history textbook that would be suitable for all denominations. This resulted in the 1954 first edition of *Wereld in Wording* (or *Novem*, as it was named after the nine original authors) (**WiW 1972**). Although *Wereld in Wording* was one of the first textbooks in the Netherlands that used illustrations as historical sources (and as images of contrasting approaches), its concept was not deeply innovative from a didactical point of view (no exercise book or teacher's guide was ever published for instance). The book, however, was a commercial success from its first release until the end of the 1970s. The title of the textbook ('Developing World') seems to refer to Burckhardt's nineteenth century vision on history as a continuously evolving process.⁶¹⁰ During the 1960s and first half of the 1970s, *Wereld in Wording* was an unprecedented success, with – according to estimations – some 600,000 copies sold (of all editions). Reasons for this success could be the pioneering integration of visions on history through the multi-ideological authors team. The textbook covers cultural next to social-economic history, world history next to European history, and embedded Dutch national history in these contexts. Sales, however, dropped during the seventies, and in 1984 Meulenhoff ceased the publication of the textbook.⁶¹¹

In *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* or 'History in Topics' (**GiO 1978** and **GiO 1979**) the authors portray a history of the twentieth century in thematic topics (e.g. 'fascism', 'war', 'Cold War', 'demography', 'technological revolution'). Both textbooks contain colored illustrations, primary sources, summaries after each chapter, questions and tasks included in each chapter, citations and annotations, bibliographic overview, suggestions for further reading, and an explanatory vocabulary. The authors have chosen not to present the history of the twentieth century through a national perspective (with the exception of the Netherlands). They have tried to 'emphasize structures and processes' of contemporary historical developments. **GiO (1978)** (meant for HAVO-students preparing for their final examinations) contains 391 pages. The first twelve chapters are part of the elementary curriculum where connections with other human sciences can be made. The authors believe the purpose of the textbook is to enhance insight into the political and social-economic development of the twentieth century, as well as 'accentuating structures and processes that contribute to the development of our time'. There is an emphasis on social-economic history and a close link to other humanities; the authors express their desire to integrate historical information with that of other subjects.⁶¹²

GiO (1979) (written for students from 5th and 6th VWO preparing for their final examination) consists of 421 pages. The authors have divided the textbook in eight chapters. Not every chapter needs to be studied in class, because the authors believe that individual students can be motivated to choose topics from the chapters for supplementary study. Chapter one is a special one: it discusses the scientific aspects of

⁶⁰⁹ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, VII, VIII.

⁶¹⁰ Fontaine, 'Het Schoolboek als Geschiedschrijving', 19.

⁶¹¹ Leeuwenhoek, Eleveld and Dalhuisen, 'Dertig jaar Novem/Wereld in Wording'.

⁶¹² *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, preface.

history. VWO-students namely need to be prepared for academic education. In this chapter elementary aspects of academic research are being discussed: how do scholars obtain input, is history a science, and so on. In chapter two students are trained to discuss political theories. The aim of the book is to enhance self-learning, where understanding, insight, analysis and synthesis are considered to be more important than memorization.⁶¹³

In short, Dutch textbooks from this sample apply more didactical varieties than their West German counterparts: experiments are done with the use of illustrations as sources, although there are no separate source or exercise books. In general the Dutch textbooks contain a stronger emphasis on social-economic and cultural history compared to the West German textbooks that were mainly based on political history.

Table 4.4: Biographical information on Dutch textbook authors 1960-1980⁶¹⁴

Textbook	Biographical information on textbook authors
SCH 1960	Dr. J. Meijer , teacher at <i>Coornhert Lyceum</i> in Haarlem.
De Wereld 1960	Drs. J. Moora and Dr. H. Klompmaker . Moora was the director of <i>R.H.B.S.</i> in Lochem and Klompmaker was a teacher at <i>Barlaeus Gymnasium Amsterdam</i> and <i>Nutsseminarium Amsterdam</i> .
De Mens 1968	R.G. van Damme
MeM 1970	A. Adang, Dr. F.E.M. Vercauteren , both teachers at <i>Dr. Moller-college</i> in Waalwijk. Vercauteren has published on regional history of the province of Noord-Brabant.
MeM 1971	A. Adang, Dr. F.E.M. Vercauteren
WiW 1972	W. Beemsterboer S.J., C.J. Canters, Mr. A. Henny, Mej. M. Jacobs, Dr. J.A.J. Jousma, Drs. H.J. Nannen, Dr. L. Suttorp, Drs. G.J. de Voogd, Dr. H.F. Wessels . Beemsterboer was a teacher at the <i>Aloysiuscollege</i> The Hague, Canters worked as a teacher at the <i>Johan de Witt-lyceum</i> The Hague and later became editor of the historical magazines <i>Blikopener</i> and <i>Reflector</i> , Henny was a teacher at the <i>1. VCL</i> and <i>Vrije School</i> in The Hague and after 1971 teacher at the <i>Vrije Hogeschool Driebergen</i> , Jacobs taught at the <i>Gemeentelijke Dalton-HBS</i> for girls, Jousma was teacher and director of the <i>1. VCL</i> The Hague, and later didactician at <i>Leyden University</i> and at <i>Algemeen Pedagogisch Studiecentrum</i> , Nannen taught at the <i>Gravenhaagsch Christelijk Gymnasium Sorghvliet</i> , Suttorp taught at <i>Christelijk Lyceum Zandvliet</i> and published on Dutch Catholics and protestants, De Voogd taught at <i>Gymnasium Haganum</i> in The Hague and became didactician at <i>Utrecht University</i> , Wessels was a teacher at the <i>Gemeentelijk Dalton Lyceum</i> in The Hague and at <i>Avondcollege Noctua</i> . ⁶¹⁵
MeM 1974	A. Adang, Dr. F.E.M. Vercauteren
GiO 1978	Drs. A.C de Beer, dr. L.C. Biegel, drs. H.A. Diederiks, drs. W.J. van der Dussen, dr. P.A.M. Geurts, drs. M.A. de Geus, drs. W.A. Habets, W.F. Kalkwiek, drs. D.A. Leurdijk, dr. F.A.M. Messing, dr. H.P.H. Nusteling, drs. P.C.H. Overmeer, dr. F.G. van der Poll, P. van 't Veer . De Beer taught at the teacher training institute <i>Katholieke Leergangen Tilburg</i> , Biegel specialized in history of the Middle East at the <i>University of Amsterdam</i> , Diederiks (1937-1995) was social-economic historian at <i>Leyden University</i> , Van der Dussen (1940) became professor in Cultural Studies at <i>Nijmegen University</i> and <i>Open University</i> , Geurts (1914-1994) taught at different schools, and later became director in Leyden and historian at <i>Nijmegen University</i> (publishing on The Dutch Revolt and Catholicism), De Geus lectures in political theories at <i>Leyden University</i> , Kalkwiek was didactician at <i>Leyden University</i> , Leurdijk (1944) is a Dutch

⁶¹³ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, preface.

⁶¹⁴ Not all authors' biographical details were retrievable.

⁶¹⁵ Leeuwenhoek, Eleveld and Dalhuisen, 'Dertig jaar Novem/Wereld in Wording', 29.

	political scientist in international relations and worked for the <i>Dutch Institute for Peace Studies (NIVV)</i> , which was later incorporated in the Dutch Institute of International Relations <i>Clingendael</i> , Messing taught at the teacher training institute <i>Katholieke Leergangen Tilburg</i> , Nusteling (1934) was historian at <i>Nijmegen University</i> , Overmeer taught at the teacher training institute <i>Katholieke Leergangen Tilburg</i> , Van der Poll was teacher of history and Dutch at the <i>Stedelijk Gymnasium Middelburg</i> , Van 't Veer (1922-1979) was a journalist at the <i>Parool</i> newspaper, and published extensively on colonial relations between the Netherlands and the Dutch Indies/Indonesia.
GiO 1979	Drs. A.C de Beer, dr. L.C. Biegel, drs. H.A. Diederiks, drs. W.J. van der Dussen, dr. P.A.M. Geurts, drs. M.A. de Geus, drs. W.A. Habets, W.F. Kalkwiek, drs. D.A. Leurdijk, dr. F.A.M. Messing, dr. H.P.H. Nusteling, drs. P.C.H. Overmeer, dr. F.G. van der Poll, P. van 't Veer.

4.2 Holocaust narratives in West German and Dutch textbooks

Facts and figures: quantitative information

First of all (as tables 4.5 and 4.6 show), West German textbooks from this sample devote an average of 33,3 pages (11,6%) on the Nazi years and WWII, of which 2,2 pages are dedicated to the Holocaust (6,6%). Dutch textbooks dedicate over 35 pages (8,7%) to National Socialism and WWII, and only 1,2 page (3,3%) of those to the persecution of the European Jews. The average covering of the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands is 0,6 pages. West German history textbooks therefore spend over 6,6% of the pages on WWII on antisemitism and the Holocaust, whereas Dutch textbooks dedicate 3,3% to the general history of the Holocaust and only 1,6% of the pages on WWII on the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands.

Table 4.5: Quantitative information in West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Pages on NS & WW2	Pages on Holocaust (general)	Illustrations on Holocaust	Number of primary sources on the Holocaust
GdG 1960	16 (6.2%)	0,2 (1,3%)	0	0
GdG 1961	26 (22.4%)	2 (7.7%)	0	0
GUW 1966	36 (20,7%)	2 (5,6%)	1	0
ZuM 1970	30 (6,8%)	2 (6,7%)	1	5
GR 1973	43 (13%)	2 (4.7%)	0	11
PuG 1978	49 (13,4%)	5 (10,2%)	1	3
AV.	33,3 (11,6%)	2,2 (6,6%)	0,5	3,2

Table 4.6: Quantitative information in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Pages on NS and WW2	Pages on Holocaust (general)	Pages on the Holocaust in NL	Illustrations on Holocaust	Number of primary sources on the Holocaust
SCH 1960	24 (6,9%)	0,25 (1%)	0	0	0
De Wereld 1960	33 (8%)	0,25 (0,75%)	0,25	0	0
De Mens 1968	20 (6,8%)	1 (5%)	0,25	0	0
MeM 1970	14 (5%)	0,25 (1,8%)	0	1	0
MeM 1971	56 (8,7%)	1,5 (2,7%)	0,5	2	2
WiW 1972	30 (10,1%)	2,5 (3,3%)	1,5	0	3
MeM 1974	54 (8,5%)	3 (5,6%)	2	1	2
GiO 1978	55 (14,1%)	1 (1,8%)	0,5	2	3
GiO 1979	36 (8,6%)	1 (3,3%)	0	0	3
AV.	35,8 (8,7%)	1,2 (3,3%)	0,6	0,7	1,4

In two West German and one Dutch textbook from the period 1960-1980 is the Holocaust (or persecution of the Jews) discussed in separate chapters or paragraphs. Sometimes, however, the genocide on the Jews obtains independent headings. The general historical embedding of the Holocaust in these textbooks from both countries is done in two ways: the textbooks either suggest a continuous and causal relationship between the National Socialist party's coming to power (so basically within the context of totalitarianism) and the Holocaust (**I, A, B, C, E, F, G, H, I**), or discuss the Holocaust within the context of the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 and the consequent policy of occupation in that region (**II, III, IV, V, VI**). In most of the West German textbooks therefore, the content of the Holocaust is not specifically linked to events from 1933 onwards, and is placed under general chapters on WWII like *Der Kampf gegen die Sowjetunion*⁶¹⁶ (although sometimes headed by special captions on the Holocaust), as if it were an accompanying appearance or consequence of the war instead of a fulfillment of a German National Socialist or antisemitic extermination policy.⁶¹⁷ In the Dutch textbooks there is only one that obtains a paragraph that specifically mentions the persecution of the Jews ('actions against the Jews'), where several events that seem to be interconnected are listed: the economic oppression of the Netherlands (e.g. through the *Arbeitseinsatz*), the actions of the Dutch fascists WA ('Weerbaarheidsafdeling', a paramilitary organization within the Dutch fascist party NSB) and the deportation of the Jews.⁶¹⁸

Scholarly input in textbooks

Although the number of academics among West German authors has been declining over the years, West German textbook writers until the 1980s were mainly university trained and/or professional scholars (84.2% for this selection). In comparison, the nine Dutch textbooks over this period are to a large extent written by secondary school teachers and teacher trainers (and 53.4% academics). Of course, having many academics in the

⁶¹⁶ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 121-122.

⁶¹⁷ See also Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 107ff.

⁶¹⁸ *De Wereld* 1960, 312-313.

staff does not guarantee quality textbook writing. However, a difference can be detected between West German and Dutch textbooks in relation to academic approaches to the content of Holocaust narratives in the textbooks (see tables 4.7 and 4.8). West German textbooks contain more citations and references to academic studies than their Dutch counterparts. *Zeiten und Menschen* (**ZuM 1970**) for instance, a 'long-seller' from 1970-1983, was co-written by two academics, Kurt Kluxen (1911-2003), who was both professor at the Pedagogical University of Bonn as well as at the University of Cologne and later became Chair of Medieval and Modern History at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg,⁶¹⁹ and Hans Erich Stier (1902-1979), who taught at the University of Münster.⁶²⁰ This textbook stands out because every chapter includes (academic) reading texts and sources and is preceded by an overview of relevant studies on that particular topic. Every source is explained, commented upon and put into context. Text VII/18 for instance (*Diskriminierende Massnahmen gegen die Juden in Deutschland (1938-1942)*) ('discriminative measures against Jews in Germany (1938-1942)') is used as 'gruesome illustration of the persecution of the Jews'. Here, contemporary (the year of publication is 1970) texts by several scholars are used as sources on fascism, mass hysteria, antisemitism or the persecution of the Jews.⁶²¹ The role of the *Einsatzgruppen* in Eastern Europe is discussed for the first time in any one of the textbooks, as is the involvement of the *Wehrmacht* (presented in the textbook as 'passively criminal').⁶²² In the introduction of *Politik und Gesellschaft* (**PuG 1978**), the authors state that 'historical scholarship has changed over the last years because of influences of social sciences'. Selection of the topics in the textbook has occurred through the 'current findings of historical-political scholarship, didactical developments and theories on the curriculum'.⁶²³

In contrast to the German sample, only one of the nine Dutch textbooks mentions (in a bibliographical survey at the end of the chapter on WWII) major studies on the persecution of the (Dutch) Jews published in the Netherlands.⁶²⁴ There are no references to foreign publications on the Holocaust, nor to other genocides. Twice during the 1960s, a television series on the Netherlands during WWII was broadcast on Dutch national network (*De Bezetting*). The series were written and presented by Loe de Jong, director of the State Institute for War Documentation. Four (out of twenty-one) episodes from *De Bezetting* dealt with the Holocaust. None of the textbooks mention these series

⁶¹⁹ http://www.presse.uni-erlangen.de/infocenter/presse/pressemitteilungen/personalmeldungen_2003/personalia/3147kluxenverst.shtml (last consulted 13-1-2014).

⁶²⁰ http://www.landtag.nrw.de/portal/WWW/Webmaster/GB_I/I.1/Abgeordnete/Ehemalige_Abgeordnete/details.jsp?k=00872 (last consulted 13-1-2014).

⁶²¹ There are texts on fascism and one on French antisemitism by Ernst Nolte (*Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche*, 1963). A text on mass hysteria and the Führer cult by Margarete and Alexander Mitscherlich (*Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern* 1968). Furthermore, K.D. Bracher, *Die deutsche Diktatur* (Köln/Berlin 1969) and M. Broszat *Der Staat Hitlers* (München 1969) are quoted.

⁶²² *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 140-142.

⁶²³ *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 3-4.

⁶²⁴ I am referring to 'the big three': A. Herzberg *Kroniek der Jodenvervolgung* (1950), J. Presser *Ondergang* (1965), and L. de Jong *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (as from 1969). They were all Jews and had been eyewitnesses of the history they wrote about (although De Jong spent the largest part of the war in London). According to De Haan, this is relevant because it stresses the isolated position of Jewish historiography from the rest of Dutch historical writing. This historiographical isolation seemed to represent the 'otherness' of the victims: Jews could testify only through academic research, not by means of public commemorations (De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 20-21). The bibliographical survey in the textbook lists general publications on WWII (*Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 94-95).

or other public references to the war or the Holocaust.⁶²⁵ Until the 1980s there is hardly any reference at all to academic research on the persecution and destruction of (Dutch) Jews in Dutch history textbooks. A striking example is *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* (GiO 1979): in the introduction of the book it is stated that 'VWO-students ought to be prepared for academic education'. Although the introduction discusses elementary aspects of scientific behavior and the aim of the book is to 'enhance self-learning, where understanding, insight and analysis are much more important than memorization'⁶²⁶, there are hardly any references to scholarly studies or conflicting theories on the Holocaust. Notwithstanding, there had been a considerable number of publications on the Holocaust in the Netherlands until the 1980s (and later).⁶²⁷ Some of these were quite popular: of Presser's *Ondergang* some 140,000 copies were sold within the first year of publication.⁶²⁸ Other books were bestsellers too, like Anne Frank's Diary, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* by A. Herzberg, *Opmars naar de Galg* by J.J. Heydecker and J. Leeb and the magnum opus of L. de Jong: *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*. This standard work on the period of the German occupation of the Netherlands was published between 1969 and 1994. Every volume that was issued was accompanied by intensive media attention, and was elaborately discussed and commented upon.⁶²⁹ It is therefore striking to find no explicit references to scholarly insights and debates about the persecution of the Jews in Dutch history textbooks: De Jong is quoted in only one of the textbooks from this sample, not from his magnum opus but from his contribution to the previously published *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* ('General History of the Netherlands').⁶³⁰ None of the other Dutch academic studies is mentioned in any one of the textbooks. In fact, the only academic source from which the textbooks quote, is A.J.P. Taylor's *The Origins of the Second World War* (published in 1961, here quoted in the original English version):

'It seems to be believed nowadays that Hitler did everything himself, even driving the trains and filling the gas chambers unaided. This was not so. Hitler was a sounding board for the German nation. Thousands, many hundred thousand, Germans carried out his evil orders without qualm or question. As supreme ruler of Germany, Hitler bears the greatest responsibility for acts of immeasurable evil: for the destruction of German democracy; for the concentration camps; and, worst of all, for the extermination of peoples during WWII. He gave orders, which Germans executed with wickedness unparalleled in civilized history. In international affairs there was nothing wrong with Hitler except that he was a German'.⁶³¹

⁶²⁵ The series was broadcast between 1960 and 1965, in a sequence of twenty-one episodes, then repeated in a short version between 1966 and 1968. During the four episodes on the Holocaust, the background was blackened instead of showing the Dutch *Je Maintiendrai* national motto. Only one of the victims was heard, through the voice of a female survivor, 'the only witness in the series without a face' (De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 26-32).

⁶²⁶ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, preface.

⁶²⁷ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 20-21.

⁶²⁸ De Haan, *Na de Ondergang*, 37-38.

⁶²⁹ <http://www.niod.nl/nl/het-koninkrijk-der-nederlanden-de-tweede-wereldoorlog/de-boeken> (last consulted 11-3-2014).

⁶³⁰ And not on the persecution of the Dutch Jews, but rather on the German 'cunningness in again and again crushing massive resistance against restrictive measures', *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 91.

⁶³¹ A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961), 100, cited in *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 77 and 1974, 77, and similar quotes from Taylor in *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 63.

Table 4.7: Academic input on the Holocaust in West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Quotes from Academics	Historiographic References to Academic Studies
GdG 1960	No	No
GdG 1961	Erdmann (probably Karl Dietrich Erdmann (1910-1990), quoted without source). ⁶³²	No
GUW 1966	Bullock <i>Hitler: a study in Tyranny</i> (1959). ⁶³³	No
ZuM 1970	Texts on fascism and one on French antisemitism by Nolte (<i>Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche</i> , 1963). A text on mass hysteria and the Führer cult by Margarete and Alexander Mitscherlich (<i>Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern</i> 1968). On Hitler's order to eliminate the Jews (Krauschnik).	The textbook is accompanied by a volume called <i>Zeiten und Menschen. Hinweise und Interpretationen</i> , edited by Werner Grüter (Paderborn, Schoening/Schrödel 2 nd edition 1976), Every chapter with reading texts and sources are prefixed by an overview of relevant literature. Every source is explained, commented upon and put into context. ⁶³⁴ For instance: Bracher (<i>Die deutsche Diktatur</i> (Köln/Berlin 1969)), Broszat (<i>Der Staat Hitlers</i> (München 1969)).
GR 1973	Several: In the <i>Quellenheft</i> a section is included on anti-Jewish measures under the title <i>Konsequenzen des Antisemitismus</i> . Eleven (out of 120) primary and secondary sources are dedicated to the topic, four before 1941, seven after.	Through the <i>Würdigungen</i> (smaller text abstracts) the latest academic judgments are summarized, which serve as themes for discussion or critical thoughts. The accompanying <i>Quellen- und Arbeitshefte</i> provide sources with bibliographical references. Academic virtues are important: the latest discussions are included; the textbook uses footnotes that either refer to academic publications or as sources in which students may find additional information to a certain topic.
PuG 1978	Chapter C (<i>Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus</i>) begins with academic theories on fascism by Thalheimer (<i>Über den Faschismus</i> , 1930), Buchheim (<i>Totalitäre Herrschaft</i> , 1962), Nolte (<i>Der Faschismus als transpolitisches Phänomen</i> , 1963) and Kühnl (<i>Faschismus</i> , 1971). ⁶³⁵	Hofer (<i>Der Nationalsozialismus. Dokumente 1933-1945</i>).

⁶³² *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1961, 67.⁶³³ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 90.⁶³⁴ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 Hinweise und Interpretationen, 379.⁶³⁵ *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 138-143.

Table 4.8: Academic input on the Holocaust in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Quotes from Academics	References to Academic Studies or Debates
SCH 1960	No	No
De Wereld 1960	No	No
De Mens 1968	No	No
MeM 1970	Van Woerden (<i>De Opmars van de Tamboer. Bericht van de Tweede Wereldoorlog</i>) comments on <i>Mein Kampf</i> in 2,5 pages. Pinchas Lapide (<i>De Laatste Drie Pausen en de Joden</i> or 'The Last Three Popes and the Jews'). Lapide (1922-1997) was an Israeli diplomat and Jewish theologian of Austrian descent. This text is about historical antisemitism.	
MeM 1971	Quotes from Bullock's <i>Hitler. A Study in Tyranny</i> (first published 1952), Shirer's <i>The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich</i> (first published 1960) and Taylor is cited (<i>The Origins of the Second World War</i> , 1961). ⁶³⁶	No
WiW 1972	No	No
MeM 1974	Quotes from Bullock's <i>Hitler. A Study in Tyranny</i> (first published 1952), Shirer's <i>The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich</i> (first published 1960) and Taylor is cited (<i>The Origins of the Second World War</i> , 1961). ⁶³⁷	No
GiO 1978	Taylor on collective guilt (<i>The Origins of the Second World War</i> , 1961). ⁶³⁸ De Jong on 'persecution of the Jews' (from: <i>Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i>). ⁶³⁹ Friedländer from <i>Standaardgeschiedenis van de 20e eeuw</i> , dl. 2. ⁶⁴⁰	Broszat (<i>Der Staat Hitlers</i>), Bullock (<i>Hitler</i>), De Jong (<i>Het Koninkrijk</i>), Presser (<i>Ondergang</i>), Shirer (<i>Opkomst en ondergang</i>), Taylor (<i>The Origins of the Second World War</i>).
GiO 1979	Shirer's <i>The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich</i> (first published 1960), Hofer (<i>De Ontketening van de Tweede Wereldoorlog</i> (1965), Nolte (<i>Het Fascisme van Mussolini tot Hitler</i> (1969) and Fest (<i>Hitler. Een Biographie</i> n.d.). ⁶⁴¹ Dutch historian Kossmann is quoted on the Jewish council. ⁶⁴²	No

'Wordy' narratives, sources, illustrations

In this section I will examine what terminology is used in West German and Dutch textbooks. Furthermore, I will analyze the use of (primary) sources, maps and

⁶³⁶ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 75-76.

⁶³⁷ *Mensen en Machten* 1974, 76-77.

⁶³⁸ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 63.

⁶³⁹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 91.

⁶⁴⁰ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 80-81.

⁶⁴¹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 176.

⁶⁴² *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 395-396.

illustrations in the textbooks. Nazi terms like *Endlösung* ('Final Solution') are often used, but not critically evaluated or used within the context of Nazi terminology as a whole. In 2011, it has been demonstrated in an analysis of English textbooks that such a term often gets misinterpreted: textbooks deal with 'the final solution of the Jewish Problem', instead of 'the final solution to the Jewish Question'.⁶⁴³ In most of the West German and Dutch textbooks from this sample - in contrast to the majority of the English textbooks - the use of quotation marks or italics safeguard a certain distance from the word 'problem'.⁶⁴⁴

However, most West German and Dutch textbooks in my sample portray the Holocaust through *perpetrator narratives*. That means that textbooks primarily display the actions undertaken by the Nazis, and consider the Jews and other victims as objects of those actions, rather than as subjects of further study. The textbooks therefore hardly ever deal with life and death of the victims of Nazi persecutions, including Jewish life before and after the war, and instead focus on the process of discrimination, deportation and extermination. In an analysis of British textbooks, Foster concludes that it is exactly this focus on 'perpetrator-narratives' that seem to enhance rather than diminish teachers' difficulties with regard to teaching about the Holocaust in the United Kingdom.⁶⁴⁵

In the West German and Dutch textbooks, the language used in the sections on Nazism and the Holocaust reflects this focus on the perpetrators (see for more on perpetrator perspectives §4.4). The textbooks explain and describe the Holocaust by using Nazi words and terminology which doesn't change much in the course of two decades. From our contemporary point of view, it seems almost unbearable to speak of or write about the fate of the European Jews during WWII in terms of *Vernichtung* or *Ausrottung*. Yet that is by and large the semantic representation of the early West German textbooks (see table 4.9). In West German textbook *Grundzüge der Geschichte* (1961) for instance, although paragraphs on the persecution of the Jews bear titles as: *Die Verfolgung der Juden* and *Die Vernichtungsaktion gegen die Juden*, the information gathered here is not about the victims but about the *SS-Einsatzkommandos* that 'began mass shootings behind the German lines', and the SS-system that 'developed more effective methods', leading towards the 'extermination camps' in Poland (Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibór and others).⁶⁴⁶ Sometimes words like *Vernichtungsaktion*, *physische Ausrottung*, *Aufnordung*, or *Sonderbehandlung* are used to describe the mass crimes, but get represented without contextualization, clarification or quotation marks. That some of these notions concealed the true character of their meaning, is seldom or not explained in the textbooks.⁶⁴⁷

In the course of time, textbooks include primary sources to support or complement the paratext. If one would establish a canon of primary documents on the Holocaust used in West German textbooks before the 1980s, the following would be included: the Wannsee protocols⁶⁴⁸, the testimonies of former Auschwitz commander

⁶⁴³ Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 28.

⁶⁴⁴ All textbooks that address the notion *Endlösung der Judenfrage* use marks or italics but *Grundzüge der Geschichte* (1960) and *Grundzüge der Geschichte* (1961).

⁶⁴⁵ Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 28.

⁶⁴⁶ *Grundzüge* 1961, 67.

⁶⁴⁷ With the exception of *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, where Nazi use of disguised terminology is explained (140-142).

⁶⁴⁸ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 Hinweise und Interpretationen, 404-406, *Grundriß* 1973 (Der Nationalsozialismus Teil II) 69-80, *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 175-179.

Rudolf Höß in Nuremberg⁶⁴⁹, and the Himmler Posen-speech (held in October 1943, during a secret meeting with SS officials in Poznań (in German: Posen)) on the 'actions against the Jews'.⁶⁵⁰ All of these sources are problematic, as Sandkühler already has demonstrated: Eichmann retrospectively revised the Wannsee protocols, Höß' testimonies are incongruent and sometimes incorrect and in some of the texts Nazi euphemism occur without further comments: 'evacuation of Jews', 'corresponding treatment'). Critical analysis of such sources is necessary; why the Wannsee meeting was held as late as 1942 is an important question that is not explained.⁶⁵¹

In general, the Holocaust in Dutch history textbooks during this era - just as much as their West German counterparts - is represented in the words of the perpetrators. Rhetoric and metaphors used in the textbooks derive from the Nazis (see table 4.10). In almost none of the Dutch textbooks specific information is provided on perpetrators, bystanders or victims. Students are - again - confronted with homogenous groups like 'the Germans', 'the Nazis', 'the occupier', 'Jews' or 'the Jewish population'. We do not learn much about individual perpetrators or victims of the Holocaust, except about some key protagonists like Hitler. Bystanders are not mentioned or discussed at all. The first textbook in this sample that uses primary sources on the Holocaust is **MeM (1971)**.⁶⁵² The sources in the Dutch textbooks deal exclusively with the ideology of the German perpetrators or with events in Eastern Europe (Nazi racial beliefs, the Warsaw ghetto, the Himmler-speech, Höß' testimony, SS shootings).⁶⁵³ Persecutions of the Dutch Jews are mentioned only twice in primary sources: in **WiW (1972)** fragments of war diaries about the deportation of Amsterdam Jews are used to underline the harshness of the Nazi oppressors ('is it any wonder that all righteous Dutchmen rebel and ... riots occur?')⁶⁵⁴ and in **GiO (1979)** texts on the February strike and the dubious role of the Jewish council appear. These primary documents hardly support the main text of the book; only in the sense that the Dutch resisted German antisemitic measures in Amsterdam.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁴⁹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 Hinweise und Interpretationen, 402-404.

⁶⁵⁰ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 Hinweise und Interpretationen, 406-407.

⁶⁵¹ Sandkühler, 'Nach Stockholm', 65.

⁶⁵² *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 101.

⁶⁵³ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 101, *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 281-285, *Mensen en Machten* 1974, 100-101, *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen*, 1978, 80-82, *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 107.

⁶⁵⁴ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 281-285.

⁶⁵⁵ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 395-396.

Table 4.9: Holocaust vocabulary in West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	
GdG 1960	<i>Konzentrationslager</i> ('concentration camps'), <i>viele Juden viehisch ermordet</i> ('many Jews were slaughtered like animals'), <i>Juden wurden in Konzentrationslagern vernichtet</i> ('Jews were destroyed in concentration camps') (in the original textbook all without quotation marks)
GdG 1961	<i>'Der Jude'</i> ('The Jew'), <i>'Weltjudentum'</i> ('World Jewry'), <i>'minderwertige Rasse'</i> ('minor race'), <i>physische Ausrottung</i> ('physical destruction') (without quotation marks), <i>'Vernichtung der jüdischen Rasse'</i> ('destruction of the Jewish race'), <i>die Vernichtungsaktion gegen die Juden</i> ('the act of exterminating the Jews') (without quotation marks), <i>'sogenannte „Endlösung“'</i> (so-called Final Solution'), <i>die physische Vernichtung aller Juden</i> ('the physical destruction of all Jews') (without quotation marks), <i>'sogenannten „Vernichtungslager“'</i> (so-called extermination camps'), <i>'getötet'</i> ('killed'), <i>'verbrannt'</i> ('burnt'), <i>'die systematische Vernichtung von Millionen von Menschen'</i> ('the systematic destruction of millions of people').
GUW 1966	<i>Ausrotten</i> ('exterminate'), <i>'Endlösung der Judenfrage'</i> ('Final Solution'), <i>Massenvergasung in Vernichtungslager</i> ('mass gassings in extermination camps'), <i>vernichtet</i> ('destroyed'), <i>physische Vernichtung des Judentums</i> ('the physical destruction of Jewry').
ZuM 1970	<i>Besatzungspolitik und Vernichtungssystem des Nationalsozialismus</i> ('policy of occupation and system of destruction of National Socialism') <i>'Untermenschen'</i> , <i>"Aufordnung"</i> of the occupied territory (meaning the mass shootings of Soviet functionaries, prisoners of war, and other Slavic people'), <i>"Sonderbehandlung"</i> ('special treatment'), <i>Vernichtungslager</i> ('extermination camps'), 'industrially operated gassing stations', <i>"Endlösung der Judenfrage"</i> ('Final Solution'). <i>SS Einsatzgruppen</i> shot all male Jews, bolshevist functionaries, gypsies and 'inferior Asians', ghettos, <i>Vernichtung der europäischen Juden</i> ('the destruction of the European Jews'), <i>"lebensunwertes Leben"</i> ('life unworthy of living'), <i>ausgemerzt</i> ('eradicated'), euphemisms like <i>"Nacht und Nebel"</i> , <i>"Schutzhäft"</i> , <i>"Sonderbehandlung"</i> , etc. ⁶⁵⁶
GR 1973	<i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> ('Final Solution'), <i>Vernichtungslager</i> ('extermination camps'), <i>Ghettos</i> , <i>Einsatzgruppen</i> , <i>Konzentrationslager</i> ('concentration camps'), <i>Arbeitslager</i> ('labor camps').
PuG 1978	<i>Massenvernichtung von Juden</i> ('mass destruction of Jews'), <i>Völkermord an den europäischen Juden</i> ('genocide on the European Jews'), <i>ermordet</i> ('murdered'), <i>Massenerschiessungen</i> ('mass executions'), <i>Vernichtungslager</i> ('extermination camps'), <i>Massendeportationen</i> ('mass deportations'), <i>"Endlösung der Judenfrage"</i> ('Final Solution'), <i>"natürliche Auslese"</i> ('natural selection'), <i>Aushungerung der Ghettos</i> ('starvation of the ghettos'), <i>Gaskammer</i> ('gas chamber'), <i>Verbrennungsofen</i> ('furnace'), <i>der größte technische Mordapparat der Geschichte</i> ('the greatest technical murder machine in history'), <i>Ausrottungen</i> ('exterminations').

⁶⁵⁶ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 140-142.

Table 4.10: Holocaust vocabulary in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	
SCH 1960	Destroyed, concentration camps, gas chambers, persecution, <i>razzia's</i> , <i>judenfeindlich</i> ('antisemitic').
De Wereld 1960	Jews lost their lives in the most horrific way, in the German gas chambers millions of people died, in the Netherlands Jews were rounded up in some town quarters and had to prepare for deportation to the German extermination camps. Jews were defenseless victims who were beaten up.
De Mens 1968	Imprisonment, deportation, execution, <i>Durchgangslager</i> ('transit camps'), concentration camp, killed, shot, or tortured to death in concentration camps, Madagascar ' <i>Endlösung</i> ' of the Jewish question, gas chambers, other maltreatments like shootings and tortures, killed in a beastly and inhuman way.
MeM 1970	Concentration camps, inhuman treatment, Jews had to pay, Jewish pogrom.
MeM 1971	Deported, killed, people in the ghetto died like flies, exterminated, concentration camps, Jews were killed in concentration camps or in <i>their</i> [my italics] ghettos, maltreatment of the Jews, life in Westerbork was horrible.
WiW 1972	Extermination camps, Jews were slaughtered ('afgemaakt'), the total destruction of all Jewish fellow citizens, concentration camps were used as a tool for political education or 'destruction method'.
MeM 1974	Deported, killed, people in the ghetto died like flies, exterminated, concentration camps, Jews were killed in concentration camps or in <i>their</i> [my italics] ghettos, maltreatment of the Jews, life in Westerbork was horrible.
GiO 1978	' <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> ', war crimes, violation of war conventions, torturing prisoners of war, exterminate population groups, murdering the entire male population of Lidice, shooting prisoners without trial, reprisals, cruelties in concentration camps, mass murder, systematic liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, optimizing of their liquidation methods, camouflaging gas chambers, vaccination with infectious diseases are used for expressing abhorrence. In the paragraph on the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands: persecution, raids, and deportations.
GiO 1979	Concentration camps and extermination camps, extermination, between five and six million Jews were killed. Over 100,000 [Dutch] Jews were killed.

With regard to didactical changes in textbooks, an increase can be seen in the use of primary sources (or fragments of sources). Questions and assignments also start to appear in the textbooks during the 1970s. From then on, many textbook authors started to believe that sources and assignments could help students to understand main historical problems and processes. By studying and analysing contemporary eyewitness accounts that serve as topics for discussion or critical understanding, students were supposed to learn how to listen, read and debate critically. Teachers and textbooks were meant to enhance students' individual abilities for judgment and hopefully managed to inspire, stimulate and activate them.⁶⁵⁷ The first West German textbook in this sample to use assignments is **VI (PuG 1978)**; in *Problem und Diskussion* at the end of each chapter questions on present-day topics are discussed.⁶⁵⁸ But as textbook **IV (ZuM 1970)** states: 'students don't all have to become historians'. Some authors feared that the transfer of historical knowledge was jeopardized by using primary sources or assignments: the

⁶⁵⁷ Conze, *Der Nationalsozialismus* (Teil II) (published with *Grundriß der Geschichte* 1973, 1.

⁶⁵⁸ *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 4-5.

‘emancipation of the youth has led to didactical changes and students are becoming increasingly autonomous’; the danger is that it will lead to ‘superficial judgments’.⁶⁵⁹ Similarly, the first Dutch textbooks that use questions or exercises are **H (GiO 1978)** and **I (GiO 1979)**; the authors explicitly state that through assignments and the analysis of sources students are trained to understand and gain insight into historical processes, which is more relevant to them than to ‘know facts’.⁶⁶⁰

In terms of visual documentation, the Holocaust is a relatively well-preserved historical event. No image of course can transmit comprehensive knowledge on the history of the Holocaust, although photographs made in Auschwitz were used as evidence in the war tribunals in Frankfurt in 1963. If one looks at the origins of the images, basically three kinds of photographs were made of the Holocaust. The vast majority of the pictures were made by perpetrators, either for official reasons or as personal souvenirs. Secondly, a small number of photos were (illegally) made by Jewish or other resistance fighters, and finally the last pictures of the Holocaust were made by Allied soldiers and photographers after the liberation of the camps in 1945.⁶⁶¹

In spite of the fact that there are millions of photographs available in international archives (although these concern mainly portraits), only a few of them have been used in academic and non-academic publications. In history textbooks, an even smaller number of Holocaust photographs have been published. By reusing the same photos over and over again, these have turned into iconic images of the event and have become part of our cultural memory. As Kleppe has demonstrated, the process of selecting illustrations by textbook authors and editors does not seem to be in accordance with any strictly defined guidelines. Authors usually choose illustrations after the topics or even texts have been conceived, which means that they ‘select’ from their own personal memories and from products of the cultural memory they know of. Furthermore, through a lack of time, and because it saves copyright fees, publishers and editors tend to re-use the same images over and over again. This might also be appealing to potential buyers, who sometimes page through the textbooks while noticing familiar images (called the ‘flip-value’ of a textbook).⁶⁶²

In West German and Dutch textbooks of the 1960s and 1970s (from this sample) the Holocaust is hardly visualized. In the first decades after the war most West German and Dutch history textbooks used photos, if any, that had been taken by Allied photographers in the liberated concentration camps. These images of piles of clothes, empty barracks, starving people and dead bodies seem to represent two post-war assumptions about the Holocaust: it had been a major war crime, but not yet recognized as the planned and industrially conducted attempt to annihilate an entire people, and it marked the end of totalitarianism in Germany and the beginning of a new democratic society as a result of the Allied military victory.⁶⁶³ Furthermore, the persecution of the Jews was very strongly associated with deportation to and life and death in the camps. In later years, most of the photographs used in West German and Dutch textbooks were the ones taken by the perpetrators.

Some of the (official) photographs were used during the war for propaganda reasons, but the majority of those pictures were meant for internal SS-use only. It was

⁶⁵⁹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 (Hinweise und Interpretationen), 379.

⁶⁶⁰ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, preface.

⁶⁶¹ Keilbach, ‘Photographs, Symbolic Images, and the Holocaust’, 62.

⁶⁶² Kleppe, *Canonieke icoonfoto's*, 65-73.

⁶⁶³ Keilbach, ‘Photographs, Symbolic Images, and the Holocaust’, 61-62.

strictly forbidden for anyone present at the scene of the crime to make amateur pictures of executions and other misdemeanors.⁶⁶⁴ By seeing these images therefore, we are looking through the lenses of the perpetrators. By using these photos in textbooks, students might fail to see that these are not just documents, but *part of the Holocaust*, tacitly reproducing the ideological perspective of the perpetrators. Jews are portrayed as passive objects of victimization only – rather than as individual, acting human beings. The use of shocking Nazi images of death, dying, murder and dehumanization should therefore be placed within a historical and pedagogical framework. Without such contextualization, Holocaust visualization can become historically problematic or emotionally disturbing for students and provide them with the awesome perspective of the perpetrator. Furthermore, it might reinforce the image students have of Jews (and others) as victims and not as real people who had lives and families before all of this happened.⁶⁶⁵

Table 4.11: Number of illustrations on antisemitism and Holocaust in West German and Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

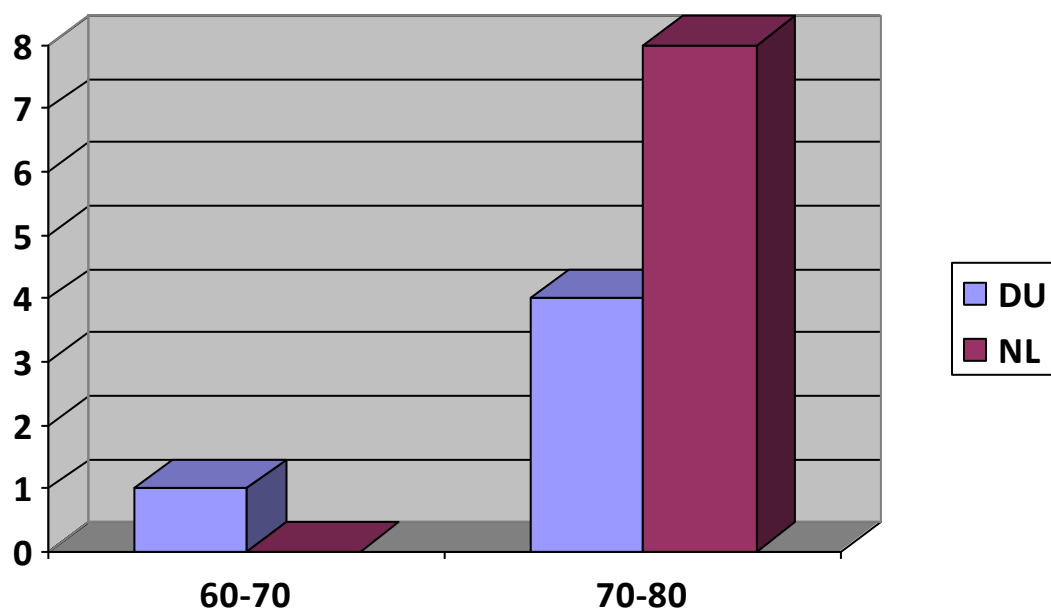


Table 4.12: Subjects of illustrations and their statistics on antisemitism and Holocaust in West German and Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

German Textbooks (N=6)	Dutch Textbooks (N=9)
Maps of camps in Europe (2)	Liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto (3)
Deportations (1)	Isolation Jews (2)
Camp liberation (1)	Jewish Quarter Amsterdam (2)
Statistics <i>Judenmorde</i> (1)	Boycott measures against Jews (1)

⁶⁶⁴ Keilbach, 'Photographs, Symbolic Images, and the Holocaust', 65.

⁶⁶⁵ Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 28-33.

Few illustrations, maps, statistics or photos are included in the textbooks (see table 4.11). This lack of visualisation, of course, applies to all topics in the early textbooks. The costs for printing illustrations became much lower over the years. Maps can be used to clarify indistinct geographical information provided in the paratext, yet the only map that is shown is in West German textbook **PuG (1978)**: a map of camps in the 'Third Reich'.⁶⁶⁶ The first illustrations in this selection of textbooks appear in West German textbook **GUW (1966)** and Dutch textbook **MeM (1970)**. This textbook shows a drawing by Mexican artist Leopoldo Méndez (figure 1). In the Dutch textbook the illustration supports one aspect of the Holocaust; it concerns a picture of the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto (figure 2). Strangely enough, the illustration is part of chapter 8 ('Israel and the Middle East'), and there is no reference to the incident on the photo, nor to the relevance of the Holocaust for Jewish immigration to Palestine after 1945.⁶⁶⁷



Figure 4.1. Caption: 'Leopoldo Méndez *Die Ausweisung in den Tod* (1942)' (Copyright © 2017 LACMA).⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁶ *Übersichtskarte der KZ-Lager des „Dritten Reiches“*, in *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 176.

⁶⁶⁷ *Mensen en Machten* 1970, 115-116.

⁶⁶⁸ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 98. Leopoldo Méndez (1902-1969) was a Mexican graphic artist who dedicated his work to fight fascism and injustice. This particular drawing ('Deportación de la Muerte') is currently on exhibit at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (<http://www.lacma.org/>) and (http://www.lainsignia.org/2002/mayo/cul_065.htm) (last consulted 22-3-2017).



Figure 4.2. Caption: 'Jewish pogrom during WWII in Warsaw (Copyright © 2017 Yad Vashem. The World Holocaust Remembrance Center).⁶⁶⁹

The photo below (figure 3, the boy holding up his hands) was also taken at the time of the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto in April and May 1943. Again this photo seems to be used in the textbook to emphasize the harmlessness and tragic fate of the Holocaust victims. Jews were being rounded up by the Germans, taken out of their houses and were sent to a then unknown destiny. According to the textbook, the 'Germans who committed the crimes in Warsaw couldn't resist to take home some 'souvenirs''.⁶⁷⁰ But in fact the historical context of the photo is quite a different one. The SS commander, Major General Jürgen Stroop, celebrated the suppression of the uprising in a leather-bound, well-documented report illustrated with fifty-two photos of the liquidation of the ghetto, and intended it to be a present for Himmler. The image therefore demonstrates Nazi supremacy and -mastery over the Jews, not their guiltless victimization. This 'Stroop report' (covered with the text: *Es gibt keinen jüdischen Wohnbesitz in Warschau mehr!* ('there are no more Jews living in Warsaw!')) was used as evidence at the International Military Court in Nuremberg.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁹ *Mensen en Machten* 1970, 116.

⁶⁷⁰ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 101.

⁶⁷¹ For more about the photo, see http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/warsaw_ghetto/collection.asp (last consulted 21-6-16) and Porat, *The Boy. A Holocaust Story*.



Figure 4.3. Caption: 'A moving photo about the violent abduction of the Jews from the Warsaw ghetto in 1943' (from *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 101) (Copyright Public Domain).⁶⁷²

⁶⁷² (<http://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/10/12/the-ghetto-the-nazis-and-one-small-boy/?r=0> (last consulted 14-3-2017)).

4.3 The historical embedding of the Holocaust in the textbooks

In chapter 2 I have described and analyzed several difficulties scholars experience with regard to defining 'the Holocaust'. As mentioned before, the Holocaust can be defined in different terms when applying concepts such as intentions, victims and perpetrators, or conceptual terms. As tables 4.13-4.18 and the rest of this section will show, it remains very unclear from the textbooks between 1960 and 1980, when the Holocaust began, what processes determined its sequence of events, where it took place or who was involved. It has been demonstrated earlier, for instance, that the notion of *Endlösung* has become increasingly synonymous for the *Holocaust* in its entirety.⁶⁷³

When comparing West German and Dutch history textbooks in the years between 1960 and 1980, we witness some differences and similarities with regard to their representations of the Holocaust. In all of the textbooks in this selection omissions occur and factual mistakes are being made. Although it is difficult to establish the exact extent of the state of scientific knowledge between the years 1960 and 1980, it can generally be ascertained and measured through comparison with international textbooks and internationally available publications from this period that some facts, insights and processes should have been accurately described. Through the outcomes of the Nuremberg, Eichmann and Auschwitz trials, the academic studies that were published in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as through several television documentaries in these decades (see chapter 2), a reliable mediation of facts about and historical analysis of the Holocaust would have been expected to be transmitted to the textbooks, even though a certain time lag in the transfer of scientific insights to textbooks has to be taken into consideration. We cannot expect that elaborate information on the mass shootings in the Soviet Union or the mass extermination camps (Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibór, Treblinka) were portrayed in these textbooks. As we have seen in chapter two, Holocaust research has been expanded to Eastern Europe during the 1990s: long after the textbooks in this chapter were published or used. But we can assume some basic facts to be correct and complete. Von Borries has listed that in (West German) textbooks after 1946, there ought to have appeared at least the *Kommissarbefehl* ('Commissar Order') and the killing of Soviet prisoners of war and 'partisans', the exploitation of the East and deportation of millions of forced laborers, the mass-shootings by *Einsatzgruppen*, deportations and ghettoization of the Jews and the industrial destruction of Jews.⁶⁷⁴ Instead, in more than half (eight) of the Dutch and West German textbooks from this sample, the numbers of Jews killed was estimated between 'ten thousands' and 'millions'. In only two of the Dutch textbooks the number of Jewish victims in the Netherlands is presented more or less correctly (**WiW 1972** and **GiO 1979**) (see table 4.17). Other victims are hardly or not mentioned at all. Also, information on the geographical locations of the Holocaust is largely incorrect or incomplete: varying from 'somewhere in the east' to the names of the largest extermination camps (see table 4.18). It is striking that none of the Dutch textbooks render a distinction between concentration and extermination camps; as if Westerbork and Vught (or Bergen-Belsen or Dachau) were similar institutions to Sobibór or Treblinka (see tables 4.17 and 4.18). In four of the West German textbooks and all of the Dutch textbooks, Hitler is portrayed as the main instigator of the persecutions of the German Jews, executed through organizations like the SA and the SS.

⁶⁷³ Snyder, *Bloedlanden*, 524-525.

⁶⁷⁴ Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks', 45-46.

In West German history textbooks between 1960 and 1980, the persecution of the German Jews is mainly described through the boycott of Jewish businesses immediately in 1933, some aspects of the 'Nuremberg Laws' in 1935, the 'Kristallnacht' in 1938 and the installment of concentration camps (see table 4.13). These persecutions receive limited and sketchy attention in the textbooks. In West German textbook **GdG (1960)** it is merely stated that 'one erected concentration camps in which Jews, communists, social democrats and other men [sic] who expressed opposition against the new state' were incarcerated. Often they were 'tortured to death'; the businesses of Jews were boycotted. On 8 November 1938 'their synagogues were burned, their possessions destroyed...many Jews were beastly murdered'⁶⁷⁵ and: 'millions of Jews were destroyed in concentration camps'.⁶⁷⁶ Textbook **GUW (1966)** states that the Gestapo constructed concentration camps, where until WWII 'all kinds of opposition (politicians, clergymen, business leaders and Jews) were subject to the arbitrariness of SS-guards'.⁶⁷⁷ Antisemitic laws and measures are mentioned in chapter 2 (*Die Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur bis 1939*). Textbook **ZuM (1970)** becomes more elaborate: 'from the first day of National Socialist rule the planned persecution of the Jews began'. Until the outbreak of the war they were completely deprived of their rights, 'lowered to the level of pariah's, and only for tactical reasons not yet eliminated'. Laws from 1933 and 1935 are discussed, as well as the *Kristallnacht*.⁶⁷⁸

In two of the West German textbooks this topic is treated in a separate paragraph (**GUW 1966, PuG 1978**). In the Dutch textbooks, the persecutions of Nazi opponents hardly receive separate attention; it is presented within a longitudinal context of Nazi crimes (see table 4.14). An example is *Schakels met het Voorgeslacht* (**SCH 1960**). In the chapter on 'contemporary history', the period between 1929 and 1959 is described. It says that from 1932 onwards, Hitler's NSDAP, SA and SS started a 'civil war' against Jews and Marxists.⁶⁷⁹ Already in 1935, Marxists and Jews had been 'rounded up in horrible concentration camps', where they were being tortured by the SS, and where 'hunger and filth caused the death of ten thousands of people'. Expelled from businesses and cultural life, maltreated in concentration camps, 'ten thousands of Jews were finally destroyed in gas chambers'.⁶⁸⁰ Dutch textbook *De Wereld van Vroeger en Nu* (**WVN 1960**) states that under Nazi rule 'everyone who acted against National Socialist interests, ran the risk of being slain or put away in concentration camps'. In the name of the German people, there occurred 'spontaneous actions against the German Jews, who lost their jobs, money and lives (in the most horrible ways)'.⁶⁸¹

In *Mensen en Machten* (**1970**) Jews are mentioned as victims of the first wave of oppression after Hitler gained power. The 'ordinance on Jewish and non-Jewish cattle' from September 1935 is the last item in the textbook that refers to the persecution of the Jews. There are two chapters that deal (indirectly) with antisemitism and the Holocaust: 3. The World of Fascism, and 8. Israel and the Middle East. There is no separate chapter on WWII.⁶⁸² In the 5 VWO 1971 and 1974 editions (**E and G**) of the same textbook, much more information is provided. When Hitler had turned Germany into a totalitarian state 'a wave of terror descended upon the country'. Especially the

⁶⁷⁵ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1960, 177.

⁶⁷⁶ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1960, 183.

⁶⁷⁷ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 96.

⁶⁷⁸ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 133-134.

⁶⁷⁹ *Schakels* 1960, 241.

⁶⁸⁰ *Schakels* 1960, 250-251.

⁶⁸¹ *De Wereld* 1960, 301.

⁶⁸² *Mensen en Machten* 1970, 35-50 and 110-126.

Jews who were banned from political rights had to pay. Open violence against this part of the population 'began in 1938'. During the *Kristallnacht* many Jewish possessions were 'deliberately destroyed'.⁶⁸³

The Dutch textbook that is the most precise in describing the situation in Germany after the Nazi take-over, is *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* (GiO 1978). The textbook mentions a first wave of terror after 1933, parts of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, the events in November 1938 and 'the last phase of this drama from 1941' – the *Endlösung der Judenfrage* – 'or the systematic destruction of all Jews in Germany and in German controlled Europe'.⁶⁸⁴

Table 4.13: Factual rendition of persecutions of German Jews (1933-1939) in West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Events mentioned	Other victims mentioned	Time covered	Most Frequently Mentioned Names of Perpetrators
GdG 1960	Boycott Jewish shops, Kristallnacht, concentration camps	Communists, socialists, 'other men'	1938	-
GdG 1961	Jews were dismissed, banned, tortured in camps, Nuremberg Laws, Kristallnacht	Communists, social-democrats, clerics and other opponents, 70,000 people through the euthanasia program	1933, 1935, 1938	Hitler, Goebbels, SA, Nazis
GUW 1966	Boycott Jewish shops, Nuremberg Laws, Kristallnacht	-	1933, 1935, 1938	Hitler, SA
ZuM 1970	Boycott Jewish shops, Nuremberg Laws, Kristallnacht	'professionals that might have opposed Hitler'	1933, 1935, 1938	Hitler, Nazis, SA, SS
GR 1973	Measures against Jews 1933-1939	-	-	Hitler
PuG 1978	Boycott Jewish shops, Nuremberg Laws, Kristallnacht, Euthanasia program	Communists, social-democrats, artists	1933, 1935, 1938	Nazis, SS, Streicher ⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 300.

⁶⁸⁴ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 23-26.

⁶⁸⁵ Julius Streicher (1885-1946) founded the weekly antisemitic newspaper *Der Stürmer* in 1923. He became *Gauleiter* in Mittelfranken 1933. Through his 'primitive' antisemitic publications he became contentious in Nazi ranks, and was dismissed from most of his public functions in 1940. Streicher was sentenced to death in 1946 in Nuremberg (see <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/biografie/biografie-julius-streicher.html>) (last consulted 24-6-2016).

Table 4.14: Factual rendition of persecutions of German Jews (1933-1939) in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Events mentioned	Other victims mentioned	Time covered	Most Frequently Mentioned Names of Perpetrators
SCH 1960	Civil war against Jews and Marxists	Marxists	1932	Hitler, SA, SS, Goebbels, Rosenberg ⁶⁸⁶
De Wereld 1960	Jews lost their jobs, money and lives	-	After 1933	Hitler, Gestapo, Nazis
De Mens 1968	Jews lost their jobs and possessions	Marxists	After 1929	Hitler, Seyß-Inquart, Nazis
MeM 1970	It became forbidden to mix 'Aryan cattle' with 'Jewish cattle'	Political opponents and unwilling party members	1933, 1935	Hitler, Gestapo, Himmler, Nazis
MeM 1971	'Wave of terror', Kristallnacht	Political opponents and unwilling party members	1933, 1938	Hitler, Gestapo, Himmler, Nazis
WiW 1972	-	-	-	Hitler
MeM 1974	'Wave of terror', Kristallnacht	Political opponents and unwilling party members	1933, 1938	Hitler, Gestapo, Himmler, Nazis
GiO 1978	'Wave of terror' (Jews banned from professions), Nuremberg Laws, Kristallnacht	Mentally ill,	1933, 1935, 1938	Hitler, Seyß-Inquart
GiO 1979	Isolation of Jews, sent to camps	-	1933, 1938	Hitler, Goering, Rosenberg, Günther ⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁶ Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946) was one of the most notorious antisemitic Nazi leaders. In 1930 he wrote his magnum opus *Der Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* ('The Twentieth Century Myth'), which became one of the most important writings in the Third Reich (after Hitler's *Mein Kampf*). Rosenberg was *Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete* ('Minister for the Occupied East') from 1941 until 1945, and was sentenced to death in 1946 in Nuremberg on several charges (see <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/biografie/alfred-rosenberg>) (last consulted 24-6-2016).

⁶⁸⁷ Hans Friedrich Karl Günther (1891-1968) was a German eugenicist who worked as a 'racial scientist' during the Weimar Republic and in the era of National Socialism. Günther is considered as one of the protagonists of Nazi racial ideology. (<http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-21048459.html>, last consulted 10-12-2015).

With regard to the persecutions of European Jewry *after 1939*, most textbooks remain unspecific. Sometimes, the mass shootings in Eastern Europe are mentioned (**II, IV, V and VI**). No exact information is delivered, however, on how and when the Jews were deported, what the *Einsatzgruppen* did or who they were, or what happened in the camps. In the new edition of *Grundzüge* (**GdG 1961**) it is added that ‘*SS-Einsatzgruppen* started the mass murder of the Jews in 1941’. At the end of 1941 ‘the extermination camps were built in Poland, which lasted until the end of 1944’.⁶⁸⁸ At the end of 1941, however, ‘the SS-system developed less conspicuous methods’. German Jews (who had to wear yellow stars on their clothes since September 1941) and Jews from occupied countries were transferred to so-called ‘extermination camps’ in Poland (Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibór and others). There, ‘gassing stations were created where in a short time thousands of people could be killed’. The corpses were burned. This ‘*Vernichtungsaktion*’ ran until the end of 1944.⁶⁸⁹ Textbook **GUW (1966)** covers the Holocaust in chapter 3: *Der Zweite Weltkrieg (1939-1945)*, Paragraph 3 (*Der Kampf gegen die Sowjetunion*), section F (*Der Höhepunkt des nationalsozialistischen Terrors*). Since 1941, Hitler undertook the complete extermination of the entire Jewish population in Europe (Hitler’s instruction “*zur Endlösung der Judenfrage*”). Through mass gassings in extermination camps like Auschwitz and Majdanek, ‘that were especially erected for this purpose’, this goal was to be achieved. Until 1944 about 6 million Jews had fallen victim to this terror.⁶⁹⁰

Table 4.15: Factual rendition of the Holocaust in West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Total Number of Victims	Other Victims than Jews mentioned	Most decisive period (in Germany)	Most Frequently Mentioned Names of Perpetrators
GdG 1960	Millions	-	1938	National Socialists
GdG 1961	Cannot be determined exactly	communists, social-democrats, clerics and victims of the euthanasia program	1941	Hitler (2), Goering, Goebbels, Himmler, SA, SS, Einsatzgruppen
GUW 1966	6 million	-	1941	Hitler, Himmler, SA, SS, Gestapo, National Socialists, Nazi Generals
ZuM 1970	Between 5 and 7 million	Soviet prisoners of war, gypsies, bolshevist functionaries, inferior Asians, Slavonic ‘ <i>Untermenschen</i> ’	20.1.1942	Hitler, Himmler, Höß
GR 1973	Between 4,5 and 6 million	-	Autumn of 1941	Hitler (3), Himmler, Heydrich
PuG 1978	Between 5 and 6 million	-	1941	Himmler, Heydrich, Eichmann, Streicher

⁶⁸⁸ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1961, 67.

⁶⁸⁹ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1961, 67.

⁶⁹⁰ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 121-122.

Table 4.16: Holocaust in time and geographical scope in West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	When did the Holocaust take place?	Where did the Holocaust take place?
GdG 1960	No dates mentioned.	In 'concentration camps'.
GdG 1961	Antisemitism existed since the 19 th century, an acceleration of the process occurred since 1933, in 1939 Hitler ordered the annihilation of the Jews, after June 1941 SS- <i>Einsatzgruppen</i> started mass murdering the Jews, at the end of 1941 the extermination camps were built in Poland until the end of 1944.	In the 'east', in ghettos in Poland and in the extermination camps Auschwitz, Treblinka and Sobibór, although Jews suffered in concentration camps as well.
GdG 1966	Antisemitism existed since the nineteenth century, but Jews became assimilated and mingled with the German population. All this ended in 1933, when Hitler came to power. After the invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler ordered the annihilation of the Jews, 6 million Jews died until 1944. The Warsaw ghetto uprising is mentioned (April-May 1943).	First in Germany, than after 1941 in the east, in the Soviet Union, the Warsaw ghetto, Auschwitz and Majdanek are mentioned as extermination camps.
ZuM 1970	From the first day of National Socialist rule the planned persecution of the Jews began. Laws from 1933 and 1935 are discussed, as well as the <i>Kristallnacht</i> . In 1939 the SS took over the National Socialist <i>Judenpolitik</i> . Since 1941/1942 a "Sonderbehandlung" (that means killing) of prisoners became common. In the extermination camps the ' <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> ' was carried out, as discussed at a conference in Berlin on 20.1.1942. Since the beginning of the war, SS <i>Einsatzgruppen</i> in Russia were given the order to shoot all male Jews, bolshevist functionaries, gypsies and 'inferior Asians' In 1943 a desperate uprising in the Warsaw ghetto was crushed by the SS. ⁶⁹¹	In the 'Germanic' Scandinavia and in Western Europe compliant governments were installed, in Poland and Russia a brutal policy of subjugation and destruction of the Slavonic 'Untermenschen' was pursued. In Russia SS <i>Einsatzgruppen</i> shot all male Jews, bolshevist functionaries, gypsies and 'inferior Asians'. Extermination camps like Auschwitz, Belzec, Treblinka and Majdanek were erected. In 1943 a uprising in the Warsaw ghetto was crushed by the SS. ⁶⁹²
GR 1973	The first ghettos were established in 1940 in Lodz and Warsaw. In the autumn of 1941 the first experimental gassings began. The bloodbaths and massacres in Eastern Europe continued until the retreat of the German troops.	The first ghettos were established in 1940 in Lodz and Warsaw. In the autumn of 1941 the first experimental gassings began in Auschwitz [sic]. It was only after the war that the names of the extermination camps became known: Auschwitz, Chelmno near Poznan, Belzec, Sobibór, Treblinka and Majdanek). The bloodbaths and massacres took place in Eastern Europe. ⁶⁹³

⁶⁹¹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 140-142.⁶⁹² *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 141-142.⁶⁹³ *Grundriß* 1973, 264.

PuG 1978	<i>Boykott und Terror</i> (1933-1938), <i>Legalisierte Diskriminierung</i> (1933-1941), <i>Die Ermordung der Juden</i> (1941-1945). ⁶⁹⁴	Germany invaded Poland in September 1939; especially here the enforcement of the genocide on the defenseless Jews was carried out. ⁶⁹⁵ Boycott, terror and legalized discrimination took place in Germany, but the mass killing of the Jews took place in Poland and Russia. Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka are mentioned. Mass shootings by the <i>SS-Einsatztruppen</i> [sic] in occupied Poland and in Russia behind the front, mass deportations to Poland.
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In **ZuM (1970)** it is stated that in 1939 'the SS took over the National Socialist *Judenpolitik*'. The repeatedly announced '*Endlösung*', 'which could only be mass murder, now came close'.⁶⁹⁶ A paragraph called *Besatzungspolitik und Vernichtungssystem des Nationalsozialismus* ('Occupation Policies and Extermination System of National Socialism') describes the situation in the occupied countries. Apparently, the war was the ideal circumstance for Hitler to achieve his main goal: the leading *Endkampf* ('final battle') against world Judaism, which manifested itself both in bolshevism as well as in the western '*Plutokratien*'. National Socialist leadership used different methods to secure its supremacy. Racial ideology determined these differentiations. In 'Germanic' Scandinavia as well as in Western Europe compliant governments were installed. In Poland and Russia a 'brutal policy of subjugation and destruction of the Slavonic '*Untermenschen*' was pursued'. That is 'why the SS grew rapidly': from 73,000 in 1941 to 147,000 in 1942. "*Einsatzgruppen*" were instructed with the '*Aufnordung*' of the occupied territories, meaning the 'mass shootings of Soviet functionaries and prisoners of war, etcetera'. Next to the existing concentration camps, extermination camps were erected. Some of these were affiliated with industrial companies, like Auschwitz (constructed for 100,000 prisoners). Before being liquidated, the prisoners had to work there. At the end of the war, the whole National Socialist territory was spanned by a network of camps. This number of prisoners depicts a false image, however, because in the large extermination camps like Auschwitz, Belzec, Treblinka and Majdanek most detainees were killed immediately after arriving, 'mostly in industrially operated gassing stations'. In these extermination camps the "*Endlösung der Judenfrage*" was carried out, as discussed at a conference in Berlin on 20.1.1942. Since the beginning of the war, *SS Einsatzgruppen* in Russia were given the order to shoot all male Jews, bolshevist functionaries, gypsies and 'inferior Asians'. Remaining Jews had to wear a big yellow star on their clothes. They were deported to ghettos, 'where they had no life opportunities and wasted away in confined space'.⁶⁹⁷

In the volume *Hinweise und Interpretationen (1976)* more information is added. The first camp where the SS proceeded to mass-murder Jews was Chelmno (near Lodz), through *Motorenabgase*, already used in the Euthanasia program. The second extermination camp became Belzec (district of Lublin), where Jews were murdered in stationary gas chambers since March 1942. In May 1942 Sobibór followed, in July

⁶⁹⁴ *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 175-179.

⁶⁹⁵ *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 174.

⁶⁹⁶ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 133-134.

⁶⁹⁷ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 140-142.

Treblinka, and finally Majdanek in the autumn of 1942. Auschwitz became the symbol of the hugest mass murder in history.⁶⁹⁸

In **GR (1973)** the *Einsatzgruppen* in Eastern Europe and extermination camps are mentioned. The most specific information given is that in the autumn of 1941 ‘the first experimental gassings began in Auschwitz’ [sic]. It was only after the war that the names of the extermination camps became known: Auschwitz, Chelmno near Poznan, Belzec, Sobibór, Treblinka and Majdanek. And: ‘the bloodbaths and massacres took place in Eastern Europe and continued until the retreat of the German troops’.⁶⁹⁹

Similar to West German textbooks, the Dutch textbooks in this period do not provide much information either on what actually happened, where it happened, or how it happened (see tables 4.17 and 4.18). In none of the main texts in the textbooks from this sample the fate of the Jewish population of the Netherlands during WWII is described, other than by mentioning the (largely incorrect) number of casualties. Sometimes, a feeling of empathy is invoked by eye-witness accounts of deportations in sources.⁷⁰⁰ In general, the persecution of the Dutch Jews is used as an opportunity to depict a heroic and nationalist narrative of resistance against the enemy. An example of these skewed proportions is **WiW (1972)**: the resistance movement is described in five pages, the Holocaust in five lines.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁸ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 (Hinweisen und Interpretationen), 402-404.

⁶⁹⁹ *Grundriß* 1973, 264.

⁷⁰⁰ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 284.

⁷⁰¹ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 149-155.

Table 4.17: Factual rendition of the Holocaust in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Total Number of Jewish Victims /The Netherlands	Other Specific Victims Mentioned	Most Decisive Period in Germany/the Netherlands	Most Frequently Mentioned Names of Perpetrators
SCH 1960	Tens of thousands/-	Anne Frank, Marxists	1935/February 1941	Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg
De Wereld 1960	6 million/-	-	- /February 1941	Hitler (2), Mussert
De Mens 1968	Appr. 6 million/-	-	1941/February 1941	Hitler, Seyß-Inquart
MeM 1970	-/-	Gypsies, Slavic people	1935/-	Hitler
MeM 1971	Millions/115,000	Anne Frank, 20 million Russians	1943/1942-1945	Hitler (2), Himmler (2), Eichmann (2), Stroop
WiW 1972	6 million/105,000	-	-/February 1941	Hitler (2), Himmler, Eichmann
MeM 1974	Millions/115,000	Anne Frank, 20 million Russians	1943/1942-1945	Hitler (2), Himmler (2), Eichmann (2), Stroop
GiO 1978	2,500.000/45.000	Mentally handicapped	April 1941/April 1941	Hitler (4), Seyß-Inquart
GiO 1979	Between 5 and 6 million/100,000	-	1938/February 1941	Hitler, Goering, Rosenberg, Günther ⁷⁰²

⁷⁰² Hans Friedrich Karl Günther (1891-1968) was a German eugenicist who worked as a 'racial scientist' during the Weimar Republic and in the era of National Socialism. Günther is considered as one of the protagonists of Nazi racial ideology. (<http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-21048459.html>, last consulted 10-12-2015).

Table 4.18: Holocaust in time and geographical scope in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	When did the Holocaust take place?	Where did the Holocaust take place?
SCH 1960	No information (except relation with February-strike 1941)	In 'concentrations camps' and 'gas chambers'.
De Wereld 1960	In relation to the mass murder of the Jews, no periodization is mentioned. The only date that is given, is February 1941, when the first outbreak of 'dissatisfaction' occurred, caused by material needs and 'measures' against the Jews. ⁷⁰³	In 'concentration camps', 'extermination camps' and 'gas chambers' and in 'some city quarters' in the Netherlands (not specified). The gas chambers and extermination camps are referred to as 'German'. ⁷⁰⁴
De Mens 1968	After 1941 when Hitler decided to proceed with the 'Endlösung' of the Jewish problem.	Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau
MeM 1970	When Hitler seized power, Jews were victims of the first wave of oppression. An antisemitic ordinance on the mingling of cattle (September 1935) is the last item in the textbook on the persecution of the Jews.	Concentration camps
MeM 1971	Between 1942 and 1945, most of the Jewish people were exterminated.	Buchenwald, Dachau, Auschwitz, Vught, Amersfoort, Westerbork and Theresienstadt 'and others'. ⁷⁰⁵ The Jews from the Warsaw ghetto were moved to Treblinka in 1942. ⁷⁰⁶
WiW 1972	Unclear: In <i>Mein Kampf</i> , the 'gospel of the glorification of violence', Hitler laid out his racial ideology.	In several extermination camps (like Auschwitz) where four million Jews were slaughtered. The Dutch Jews were transported to Westerbork and the German concentration camps.
MeM 1974	Between 1942 and 1945, most part of the Jewish people was exterminated.	Buchenwald, Dachau, Auschwitz, Vught, Amersfoort, Westerbork and Theresienstadt 'and others'. ⁷⁰⁷ The Jews from the Warsaw ghetto were moved to Treblinka in 1942. ⁷⁰⁸
GiO 1978	Antisemitism begins with Hitler and <i>Mein Kampf</i> . In 1935 marriages between Jews and gentiles were forbidden. In November 1938 a second wave of open terror broke out. The last phase was called the ' <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> '; the systematic destruction of all Jews in Germany and in German controlled Europe in 1941. ⁷⁰⁹	Mass-executions of Jews began in Russia when the Germans occupied the country. ⁷¹⁰ Chelmno, Belzec, Treblinka, Auschwitz-Birkenau.
GiO 1979	Unclear: thousands of Jews were sent to concentration camps in 1938. In 1945 the world could see with own eyes what had	It seems to be an entirely German matter; no mention of the Dutch situation or the geographical scope. The population of Poland has been

⁷⁰³ *De Wereld* 1960, 313.⁷⁰⁴ *De Wereld* 1960, 306, 313.⁷⁰⁵ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 85.⁷⁰⁶ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 100.⁷⁰⁷ *Mensen en Machten* 1974, 85.⁷⁰⁸ *Mensen en Machten* 1974, 100-101.⁷⁰⁹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 23-26.⁷¹⁰ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 80-81.

happened in the concentration and extermination camps.	decimated with fifteen percent; around 5, 8 million Poles perished. Not a word on the Holocaust. ⁷¹¹
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In *De Mens en Zijn Tijd* (1968) it is not clear when the antisemitic measures began. In 'every possible way' the lives of Jews were being made hard. Originally it was 'planned to bring the Jews to a remote island – probably Madagascar' – but in 1941 Hitler made the 'terrible decision to tackle the *'Endlösung* of the Jewish question', by means of the gas chambers and other maltreatments, like shootings and tortures. In a 'beastly and inhuman way approximately *six million* [their italics] Jews' perished.⁷¹² In the Netherlands, according to the textbook, the names '*Buchenwalde* [sic], *Bergen-Belsen* and *Dachau* obtained sinister sounds'. Many Jewish Dutchmen did not have the chance to live to the day of liberation. They had been killed, shot, or tortured to death in concentration camps. 'Of all population groups, the Jews suffered most': over 100,000 of approximately 120,000 deported Jews were killed by the Germans. From 1942 onwards, 'train after train disappeared towards Germany' [sic], where gas chambers and crematoria 'did their destructive work'.⁷¹³

Textbook **MeM** (1971) suggests a connection between the course of the war and the persecutions: 'when the V1- and V2-missiles and the atomic project failed to achieve the desired results, Hitler became enraged and sought revenge on the innocent Jews', millions of whom were killed in concentration camps or 'in their ghetto's, for instance in Warsaw, by command of Himmler and Eichmann'.⁷¹⁴ Furthermore, 'millions of people' were deported to concentration camps ('Buchenwald, Dachau, Auschwitz, Vught, Amersfoort, Westerbork and Theresienstadt and others').⁷¹⁵ Of the 120,000 Dutch Jews that were brought to Hitler's extermination camps, only 5,000 returned. Of the 20,000 Jews that went into hiding, many were caught by the *Sicherheitsdienst*. The diary of Anne Frank 'touchingly describes the life of Jewish people in hiding in an Amsterdam rear house'.⁷¹⁶ An eye-witness report from the Warsaw ghetto is inserted in one of the reading texts (by survivor Bergmann Borg). In 1940 the ghetto was established, where 400,000 Jews were rounded up in a quarter of the town. Jews lived there and worked in German industries, only to prolong their lives. Food shortages led to mass starvation. In 1942 Himmler ordered the Jews from the Warsaw ghetto to be moved to Treblinka in 1942. When he visited the ghetto in 1943, there were 60,000 Jews left. Jürgen Stroop was given the order to solve the 'Jewish problem' in Warsaw. With the 'courage of despair and with the use of self-made weapons' the remaining Jews resisted the well-armed Nazi gangs for three weeks. The Nazis bombed the ghetto heavily and set it on fire; '40,000 Jews were immediately murdered or died in the gas chambers of Treblinka'.⁷¹⁷

Wereld in Wording (F 1972) estimates the number of casualties in WWII to be around one hundred million people: 'thirty dead per minute, one dead person every two seconds'. Most heavily struck were the Jews: 'one cannot imagine a crime, no matter how brutal or cunning, or it has been committed by the Germans against the Jews'. In several 'extermination camps', four million Jews were slaughtered. Two million 'others died in

⁷¹¹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 191-192.

⁷¹² *De Mens* 1968, 121.

⁷¹³ *De Mens* 1968, 190-192.

⁷¹⁴ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 96.

⁷¹⁵ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 85.

⁷¹⁶ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 177.

⁷¹⁷ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 100-101.

other ways'.⁷¹⁸ In chapter 12 ('Territory of the Netherlands during WWII') there are eight lines on the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands: 'it gradually became clear that the total destruction of Jewish fellow citizens was at stake', and 'through the gradually increased persecution of the Jews opposition grew'. Of the 110,000 deported Dutch Jews, only 5,000 returned. Many of the 30,000 Jews who had gone into hiding were caught. Half of the total loss of life in the Netherlands consisted of the murdered Jews'.⁷¹⁹ And: 'The Jews were transported to the German concentration camps'.⁷²⁰

On the rare occasions on which academics are cited in the textbooks is found in **GiO (1978)**, in a paragraph on 'war crimes'. There, Holocaust historian Saul Friedländer is quoted from the *Standaardgeschiedenis van de 20e eeuw* ('Standard History of the 21st Century'): 'mass-execution of Jews began in Russia when the Germans occupied the country. The *Einsatzgruppen*, usually backed by local militia and often by *Wehrmacht* units, organized ... temporary ghetto's... but proceeded most of the time with mass-executions...In total, three thousand members of *Einsatzgruppen* have killed approximately 1.400,000 Jews in Russia'.⁷²¹ In the Netherlands, 'severe ... measures against the Jews were taken'.⁷²² According to the textbook, 'no more than 5,000 Dutch Jews (10%) survived the war'.⁷²³

In the VWO-version of the same textbook (by the same authors) (**GiO 1979**), information on the persecution of the Jews becomes scarce again: 'when the concentration and extermination camps were liberated in 1945, one could witness for oneself what had happened. During WWII between five and six million Jews were killed'.⁷²⁴ In a paragraph at the end of the chapter on WWII called 'The Dead and the Living', the textbook states that some 'forty to fifty-five million people died during the war', soldiers and civilians. In Poland alone 'fifteen percent of the population perished'. Again, Jewish victimhood is being largely neglected: not a word is spent on what happened to the European Jews.⁷²⁵

4.4 Perpetrators and debates about intentionalists and functionalists

In this section I will examine whether the general opinion, held until the 1980s among some West German contemporaries and historians (see chapter 2), that National Socialism and the Holocaust was to be considered as a *Betriebsunfall* ('industrial accident') in German history, is reflected in West German textbooks. This raises questions about how the textbooks deal with matters of responsibility and guilt. Do the textbooks address what the connection was between Nazism and German society? One of the main issues is the ideological permeation in Nazi Germany: what was the ideological relationship of the German people with National Socialism? What were the command structures, and was there any room for maneuver on an individual or collective level? As seen in chapter 2, the overall impression in post-war memory in the Netherlands was that during this era the Dutch (Jews) had become victim of German

⁷¹⁸ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 146

⁷¹⁹ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 149.

⁷²⁰ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 155.

⁷²¹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen*, 1978, 80-81.

⁷²² *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen*, 1978, 86.

⁷²³ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen*, 1978, 91.

⁷²⁴ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 107-108.

⁷²⁵ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 191-192.

oppression during WWII, and that there was hardly any Dutch involvement in the persecutions. I will therefore closely look at the Dutch textbooks and discuss whether they comply with this view. The issue here therefore is how the textbooks display the main perpetrators of the Holocaust.

The academic debates between *intentionalists* (emphasizing genocidal intentions by the Nazis) and *functionalists* (underlining several conditions and processes that led to the escalation of mass killings and therewith to genocide) offer an interesting background to textbook analysis (see chapter 2 for the historiographical context). Some consider the Holocaust as the culmination of antisemitism originating from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, deriving from a basic inability of parts of European society to fully accept the Jews. Various forms of antisemitism that had existed longer were moulded together by Hitler, the Nazis or the German people in a war against European Jewry (see Tenenbaum 1956, Levin 1968, Dawidowicz 1975, Goldhagen 1996).⁷²⁶ Others connect the Holocaust to the rise of Hitler and the Nazis, either from 1932 onwards (when more than fifty percent of the Germans voted for non-democratic parties, see Yahil 1990)⁷²⁷, or 1933 (see Hilberg 1961, who saw the 'destruction of the Jews' as a reference to a continuous bureaucratic process that had led from publicly announced emigration plans until 1940 to secret extermination policies from 1940-1945)⁷²⁸, or in 1935 with the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws (Poliakov 1956).⁷²⁹ More recent comprehensive studies have dealt with decision making: has there been a crucial order to eliminate all Jews? (see Aly 2006, Friedländer 2007 and Longerich 2010).⁷³⁰ This discussion evolves mostly around the relationship between the circumstances in Eastern Europe after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, and changing Nazi politics on race and population.⁷³¹

In this context, we have to focus on the question whether the early textbooks in both countries portray Hitler as the driving force of National Socialism and/or the Holocaust. The quantitative analysis of textbooks from both countries shows that his personality obtains a prominent position. In most of the textbooks, especially the Dutch, Hitler is mentioned first and foremost as the instigator of antisemitism and the persecutions that followed (see tables 4.19-4.22). Hitler is portrayed as the almighty *Führer*, who appears on the stage whenever decisions are being made. When he seized power in 1933, things changed dramatically in Germany. Above all, the textbooks indicate that Hitler integrated National Socialist racial ideology with its practical implementations. What the exact role of Hitler in the Holocaust was, however, remains unclear; none of the textbooks provide precise information on this matter. It is clear, however, that most textbooks perceive the Holocaust (or German antisemitism between 1933 and 1945 in general) mainly as the outcome of Hitler's beliefs and personality. References to his days in Vienna and *Mein Kampf* occur frequently. In **SCH (1960)** for instance, Hitler's 'civil war' against Jews and Marxists derived from his 'hatred against Jews and Bolsheviks' as he already had described in *Mein Kampf*. Adolf Hitler was 'fanatic', and he used the SS for

⁷²⁶ Tenenbaum, *Race and Reich*, Levin, *The Holocaust*, Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews*, Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.

⁷²⁷ Yahil, *The Holocaust*.

⁷²⁸ Hilberg, *The Destruction*.

⁷²⁹ Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate*. See for more on periodization of the Holocaust Michman, "'The Holocaust" in the Eyes of Historians', 233-264.

⁷³⁰ Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries*, Friedländer, *The Years of Extermination*, Longerich, *Holocaust*.

⁷³¹ De Haan, *Breuklijnen in de geschiedschrijving van de Jodenvervolgung*.

'torture and other inhuman acts, causing *ten thousands* of Jews to be destroyed in gas chambers'.⁷³²

Table 4.19: Perpetrators in West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook

GdG 1960	No names (only 'National Socialism') are mentioned in relation to perpetrators, not even Hitler. He was only responsible for Nazi foreign policy, and is named in relation to that topic. But not to antisemitism.
GdG 1961	Hitler (2), Himmler (1), National Socialist government (1).
GUW 1966	Hitler (1), Himmler (1), the state (1), National Socialist government (1), SA (1), SS (1), Gestapo (1), 'some [unnamed] fanatical National Socialist generals' (1), an elite within the SS and party (1).
ZuM 1970	Hitler (1), Himmler (1), Höß (1).
GR 1973	Hitler (3), Himmler (1), Heydrich (1).
PuG 1978	Himmler (1), Heydrich (1), Streicher (1), Eichmann (1).
TOT	Hitler (7), Himmler (5), National Socialism (3), Heydrich (2), SS (2), Eichmann (1), Streicher (1), Höß (1), SA (1), Gestapo (1)

Table 4.19a: Perpetrators in West German textbooks 1960-1980

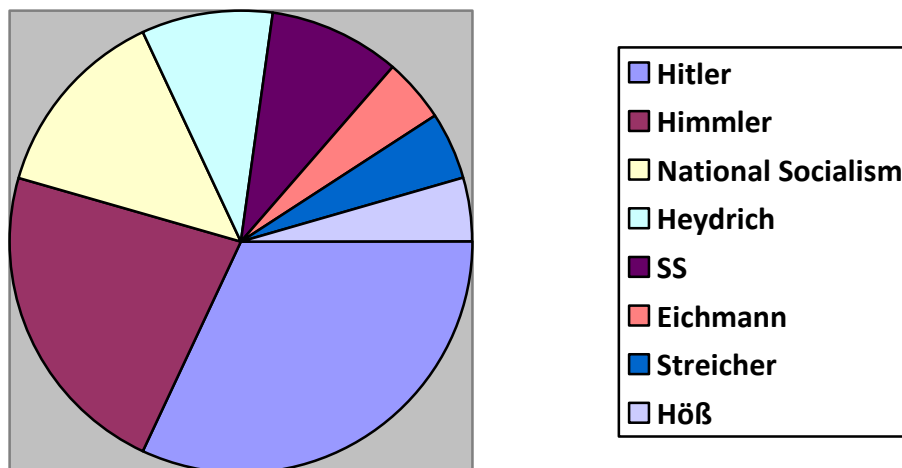


Table 4.19b: Perpetrators in West German textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	Hitler	Himmler	Heydrich	Höß	Eichmann	Streicher	Others
GdG 1960							National Socialism
GdG 1961	2	1					Goebbels, Göring, SA, SS, National Socialism, Einsatzgruppen
GUW 1966	1	1					NS-government, SS, SA, Nazi elite, Gestapo, generals
ZuM 1970	1	1		1			

⁷³² Schakels 1960, 241 and 250-251.

GR 1973	3	1	1				
PuG 1978		1	1		1	1	
Total	7	5	2	1	1	1	9

The *intentionalist* approach to the Holocaust dominates the textbooks from both countries. They consider Hitler and Himmler to be the masterminds behind the Holocaust. Here we see a steady continuity in textbook representations until the 1980s (see tables 4.19-4.19b). These representations contradict the ‘functionalist’ doctrine, which was represented by historians such as Hans Mommsen. Textbook authors tend to portray Hitler (and sometimes Himmler) as fanatical ideologues, who followed a plan with the objectives of exterminating the Jews in East and Central Europe and decimating the Slavic population under German rule. Although the first textbook in this sample (**GdG 1960**) mentions Hitler in relation to Nazi foreign policy, he is not named with regard to antisemitism. West German textbook **II (GdG 1961)** states that Hitler announced on January 30 1939 that ‘the Jewish race would be destroyed’.⁷³³ In **GUW (1966)** ‘Hitler’s final goal was the physical extermination of European Jewry’. He only postponed the implementation of this target ‘because of political reasons’; a war, he believed, would ‘offer the best possibility’ for this. Hitler’s ‘pathological notion was that the Jew was responsible for everything that was bad and inferior’ during the war. It was his ‘openly proclaimed goal to exterminate Jewry’ whenever that became possible.⁷³⁴ In **GR (1973)** Hitler is seen as a ‘primitive social Darwinist, his racial theories backing his foreign policy’. The ‘pseudo-scientifically grounded antisemitism’ was the ‘key element’ in Hitler’s ideology. Jews were ‘destroying German culture because they were omnipresent and had to be fought’. They also served as scapegoats ‘who could be blamed for everything that went wrong’.⁷³⁵

In textbook **IV (ZuM 1970)** Hitler is portrayed as ‘strong, cunning and persistent’. And he seemed to be consistent too: his last will from 29 April 1945 contained the ‘same conceptions as his National Socialist ideas of thirty years earlier’. When he decided to exterminate (*auszurotten*) the Jews is not known; historian Helmut Krauschnik is cited, who believed that the order was given in March 1941.⁷³⁶ In this textbook Himmler is introduced for the first time in relation to the Holocaust: he was ‘powerful and ruthless’ and – through the SS - he executed everything in relation to the persecution of the Jews. According to the textbook, Himmler even ‘personally stopped the destruction of the Jews’ in the autumn of 1944.⁷³⁷

In **PuG (1978)** the role of the SS, Himmler and Heydrich is stressed. The installation of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (where the *Sicherheitspolizei* (party) and the *Sicherheitsdienst* (state) were united under the leadership of Heydrich) is considered to be important in the sense that some departments (*IV B 4, Juden und Räumungsangelegenheiten*, led by Eichmann) ‘became the central organization for the genocide of the Jews’. Hitler, for that matter, is not mentioned in relation to the genocide.⁷³⁸

⁷³³ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* VII 1961, 54-56.

⁷³⁴ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 121.

⁷³⁵ *Grundriß* 1973, 232-233.

⁷³⁶ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 Hinweise und Interpretationen, 402.

⁷³⁷ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 Hinweise und Interpretationen, 404.

⁷³⁸ *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 175.

In the Dutch textbooks, all perpetrators that are mentioned are German Nazis. The only person in the textbooks who has a connection to the situation in the Netherlands is Arthur Seyß-Inquart, who served as *Reichskommissar* in the Netherlands between May 1940 and May 1945.⁷³⁹ Hitler, however, is portrayed as being responsible for the Holocaust. In **WVN (1960)** it is said that Hitler's personality ('bestial frenzy') led to 'criminal behaviour towards the Jews'. And Adolf Hitler had been 'responsible for killing more than six million Jews between 1940 and 1945'.⁷⁴⁰ In **Mens (1968)**, Hitler's ideas (published in *Mein Kampf*) have led to 'elimination of the Jewish 'race''. When the Madagascar-plan failed, Hitler decided in 1941 to execute the Final Solution 'by means of the gas chambers and other maltreatments'.⁷⁴¹ In **MeM (1970)**, **MeM (1971)** and **MeM (1974)** it is stated that Germany after 1933 was being dominated by Hitler. Inequality is seen as a fundamental ingredient of fascism, resulting in Hitler's policies against the Jews, gypsies and slaves.⁷⁴² Hitler 'removed' the Jews ('unwisely') at the expense of the German war effort, by which he distinguished himself from other German nationalists like Goering, who 'would not have given priority to the physical annihilation of the Jewry'.⁷⁴³ In Nazi occupied countries Jews and other people were first being deported to concentration camps (which is compared in the textbook to the Assyrian migrations between the 4th and 6th centuries, the '*volksverhuizingen*'), and because of disappointing war-efforts Hitler became 'enraged' and sought 'revenge on innocent Jews'. It were Himmler and Eichmann, however, who gave the direct orders,⁷⁴⁴ the elimination of the Warsaw ghetto for instance was ordered by Himmler.⁷⁴⁵ In **WiW (1972)** it is stated that 'Himmler received orders from Hitler in the summer of 1941 to exterminate all Jews'. Himmler instructed the future commander of the concentration camp [apparently Rudolf Höß, MvB]: 'the *Führer* has ordered the solution of the Jewish problem and we, the SS, have to execute this order. ...Battalion commander Eichmann will visit you shortly with the details'.⁷⁴⁶ In **GiO (1978)** 'Hitler – echoing early twentieth century pamphleteers from Vienna – hated Jews above all'. In *Mein Kampf* he had outlined his 'confession' to antisemitism which would change his life fundamentally. This 'unknown and insignificant corporal' suddenly revealed himself as an unrivalled rhetorician who could play with the people's emotions. The *Endlösung der Judenfrage* was instigated by Hitler in 1941, when the 'brutalization of the war had taken away the last of his moral objections'.⁷⁴⁷ Textbook **GiO (1979)** mentions that Hitler planned his racial theories in *Mein Kampf*.⁷⁴⁸ After Hitler had taken over control of the state, antisemitism meant a 'step-by-step isolation of Jews from public life in Germany'. All this was leading to the eventual mass murder of the Jews during WWII. Hitler's 'solution' of the 'Jewish question' became clear 'when the concentration camps and the extermination camps were liberated'.⁷⁴⁹

⁷³⁹ *De Mens* 1968, 192, *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen*, 1978, 86.

⁷⁴⁰ *De Wereld* 1960, 306 and 394.

⁷⁴¹ *De Mens* 1968, 119-121.

⁷⁴² *Mensen en Machten* 1970, 35.

⁷⁴³ *Mensen en Machten* 1970, 48.

⁷⁴⁴ *Mensen en Machten* 1974, 96 and 1978, 107.

⁷⁴⁵ *Mensen en Machten* 1974, 100, and 1978, 115.

⁷⁴⁶ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 281.

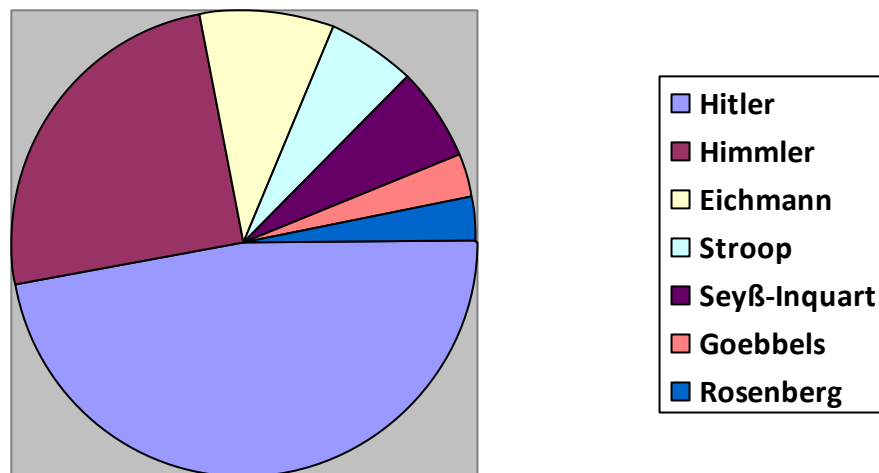
⁷⁴⁷ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1978, 23-26.

⁷⁴⁸ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 75.

⁷⁴⁹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 107-108.

Table 4.20: Perpetrators in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980

Textbook	
SCH 1960	Hitler (1), Goebbels (1), Rosenberg (1)
De Wereld 1960	Hitler (2)
De Mens 1968	Hitler (1), Seyß-Inquart (1)
MeM 1970	Hitler (1), Himmler (1)
MeM 1971	Hitler (2), Himmler (3), Eichmann (1), Stroop (1) (Commander of the Warsaw Ghetto)
WiW 1972	Hitler (1), Himmler (1), Eichmann (1)
MeM 1974	Hitler (2), Himmler (3), Eichmann (1), Stroop (1) (Commander of the Warsaw Ghetto)
GiO 1978	Hitler (1), Seyß-Inquart (1)
GiO 1979	Hitler (4)
TOT	Hitler (15), Himmler (8), Eichmann (3), Stroop (2), Seyß-Inquart (2), Goebbels (1), Rosenberg (1)

Table 4.20a: Perpetrators in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980**Table 4.20b: Perpetrators in Dutch textbooks 1960-1980**

Textbook	Hitler	Himmler	Eichmann	Stroop	Seyß-Inquart	Rosenberg	Goebbels
SCH 1960	1					1	1
De Wereld 1960	2						
De Mens 1968	1				1		
MeM 1970	1	1					
MeM 1971	2	3	1	1			
WiW 1972	1	1	1				
MeM 1974	2	3	1	1			
GiO 1978	1				1		

GiO 1979	4						
Total	15	8	3	2	2	1	1

In the Dutch textbooks, Hitler is much more visible than in their West German counterparts. He is portrayed as the main representative of National Socialism, even as its personification. As Garske has put it in his comparison of German and Polish textbooks that were used in the year 2006/2007, through highlighting the iconic function of the *Führer* in Holocaust narratives, textbooks seem to demonstrate that the main difference between the 'normal' Germany and the criminal character of the Third Reich was Hitler's dictatorship. As a result, the relationship between regime and population becomes blurry and gets misconstrued.⁷⁵⁰ In several textbooks Hitler's (and other Nazi leaders') irrationality and mental instability in relation to major decisions and events is explicitly demonstrated. One of the examples can be found in West German textbook **GR (1973)**, where his background is sketched: 'little Adolf' was 'incapable for normal work'. Because he 'failed' at school, he suffered from 'problems like spelling correctly throughout the rest of his life'. He wanted to become a painter, left for Vienna where he continued to lead an idle life: 'there too he liked to stay in bed until noon'. He read a lot, 'but haphazardly'. In 1909 he stayed in an asylum for the homeless. He 'blamed others for his failures, and therefore resented society'. In the asylum he became 'increasingly opinionated and bossy and was unable to establish real human contacts and cursed a lot'. There he showed his 'manic need for monologues and his psychopathic sense of one-sidedness'. In Vienna he learned about 'brutality and contempt' and about the theories of the blond master race by racial mythologist Lanz von Liebenfels. Hitler became 'impressed with the ideas of decimation of racially inferior people through deportation, sterilization and liquidation'. His "*Aufnordungs*"-Versuche⁷⁵¹ with the help of the SS as well as the persecution of the Jews were premeditated here. When he left Vienna in 1913, Hitler was convinced that Jews were "*Ferment der Dekomposition*", the 'embodiment of evil, misfortune in past and present'.⁷⁵² Another example from the same textbook: Himmler 'became the second most powerful man in Germany around 1943'. But he was 'incapable of any original thought', so he 'followed Hitler's basic beliefs: high breeding of a master race, extermination of the Jews, combating Christianity'. He 'implemented the merciless extermination battle against the Jews'.⁷⁵³

In some of the Dutch textbooks Hitler is also portrayed as a social misfit. In **SCH (1960)** it is stated that Hitler was Austrian by birth and grew up as an 'adventurous outsider'. He was considered among a small number of party members as a kind of a 'redeemer, like an *Übermensch* in the sense of what Nietzsche had meant', who one would follow unconditionally.⁷⁵⁴ In **(WiW 1972)** it says that he was 'spoiled by his mother', had lost his father at the age of fourteen, failed the exam for the arts academy, had difficult years in Vienna 'where he learned to hate Jews and Marxists', enlisted for the German army during WWI, where he made it to the rank of corporal due to an 'exaggerated sense of duty'. Hitler, 'through his organizational and propagandistic

⁷⁵⁰ Garske, *Zur Konstruktion kollektiver Narrative*, 36.

⁷⁵¹ National Socialist jargon for striving to increase the share of the Nordic population conceived by the Nazis as a 'race'. The notion of *Aufnordung* is prominent in the publications of Hans F. K. Günther.

⁷⁵² *Grundriß* 1973, 230.

⁷⁵³ *Grundriß* 1973, 237.

⁷⁵⁴ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* VII 1960, 175.

talents and especially through his dynamic and mesmerizing personality', had made the NSDAP into a success. He 'learned to hate Jews and Marxists in Vienna'.⁷⁵⁵

In West German textbooks, sometimes other perpetrators are explicitly brought to the fore, like in *Zeiten und Menschen* (**ZuM 1970**) where Auschwitz commander Rudolf Höß is held partly responsible for the Holocaust. The textbook states that 'Auschwitz has become the symbol of the biggest mass murder in history'. Auschwitz became the biggest death camp 'because it was isolated and connected to railway lines'. *SS-Obersturmbannführer* Rudolf Höß had been the commander of the concentration camp of Auschwitz since 1940. In his postwar testimonies, Höß 'experienced no emotions in delivering his accounts, but instead proceeded immediately to the technical details' that he had discussed with Eichmann. He 'showed no compassion or shame'; he 'seemed to have done his job'. Höß's report is an 'unbelievable document of human perversion'. 'Nowhere', the textbook continues, is there 'any manifestation of sympathy with the victims'. In an attempt to interpret the camp commander's personality, the textbook quotes Gilbert, the American psychologist present at the Nuremberg tribunal who spoke with Höß before his execution. Gilbert could not find any sense of remorse either. Höß saw himself as a 'law-abiding individualist', who since his childhood days 'hadn't had any friends or other human relationships'. He had had a religious upbringing and seemed to have 'lacked affection and gladly accepted authority'.⁷⁵⁶

As demonstrated above, in the latter West German textbooks (for instance in **PuG (1978)**) Hitler 'disappears' among the list of perpetrators: as if the discourse has moved from the intentionalist approach to the functionalist theory. Himmler's influence and that of the SS in the persecution of the Jews become acknowledged, like the role of top-Nazis like Heydrich and Eichmann.⁷⁵⁷ In the Dutch textbooks, there is hardly any explicit mentioning of individual perpetrators with regard to the Holocaust, apart from Hitler and Himmler. In **GiO (1978)** and **GiO (1979)** for instance, Himmler is not mentioned. Heydrich does not appear at all in the Dutch textbooks from the sample.

4.5 Plotlines of heroic and hidden victims

Who are the victims?

In this paragraph, I will analyze the limited attention that was bestowed upon the (Jewish) victims in the textbooks in both countries between 1960 and 1980. Although the victims of the Holocaust obtained more attention in textbooks during the 1970s, the persecution of the Jews still was not seen as the most important event during or around WWII. Bystanders are not present in the history textbooks from this sample; their position and motives are portrayed in history textbooks, but not earlier than the 1990s.

Hardly any of the West German and Dutch history textbooks portray everyday life or individual stories of Jewish citizens. None of them show that there was a considerable amount of consent, adaptation, passivity, opportunism or indifference among the German and Dutch populations. Students therefore do not learn why many Germans became fascinated with or were attracted to National Socialism. None of the West German textbooks, for instance, refer to the facts that many Germans were antisemitic or anti-democratic, that the German resistance movement was only run by a small

⁷⁵⁵ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 100.

⁷⁵⁶ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1976 Hinweise und Interpretationen, 402-404.

⁷⁵⁷ *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 175-179.

number of people, that half a million Germans participated in the Holocaust (equal to the number of Jews living in Germany in 1933) and that many Germans after 1945 still believed that National Socialism was a good thing and that the Holocaust had been 'exaggerated'.⁷⁵⁸

The analyzed textbooks seem to reflect the marginality of Jewish victimhood in the early decades of West German and Dutch post-war political and public debates.⁷⁵⁹ In 1960, West German textbook **GdG** spends exactly two sentences on the matter: 'the businesses of Jews were boycotted, on 8 November 1938 their synagogues were burned...many Jews were beastly murdered'⁷⁶⁰ and: 'millions of Jews were destroyed in concentration camps'⁷⁶¹. The only time the fate of the victims is explicitly shown in one of the textbooks, in **GR (1973)**, is through the so-called *Gerstein Bericht* from 1945⁷⁶²:

'Defenseless men, women and children, frightened to death, they had to undress, mothers with babies enter the gas chambers, the majority know what is about to come, the smell announces their fate, they cry and sob, wait for almost four hours until they die'.⁷⁶³

Sometimes, the textbooks offer some empathy with the victims of the persecutions. When Jews (**GuW 1966**) were forced to 'take on biblical names like 'Israel' or 'Sara', it 'filled them with pride and the forced isolation provoked a kind of 'Jewish Renaissance'.⁷⁶⁴ And Polish Jews in the Warsaw ghetto were 'crammed together' and had undergone 'incredible physical and mental sufferings'.⁷⁶⁵

It seems that only Jews were killed; hardly any other targeted groups are mentioned (sometimes communists, social-democrats or other opponents). In **GuW (1966)** it is said that Hitler used the 'same means against mental patients and German opponents of the regime'.⁷⁶⁶ Victims are considered as collective and homogeneous groups. Individual suffering, bystanders or local population are not mentioned. The euthanasia program is mentioned in four of the West German textbooks. Textbook **GdG (1961)** states that 'seventy thousand people were killed' although 'church leaders protested' against the killing of mental patients. The question why the churches (apparently) did not protest against anti-Jewish measures is not asked or commented upon.⁷⁶⁷ In textbook **ZuM (1970)** it says that *SS Einsatzgruppen* in Russia were given the order to shoot all male Jews, bolshevist functionaries, gypsies and 'inferior Asians'. Remaining Jews had to wear a big yellow star on their clothes. They were deported to ghettos, where they had no life opportunities and were wasting away in a confined space.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁵⁸ Popp, *Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch*, 102-103.

⁷⁵⁹ Heyl, 'Duitse herinneringscultuur', 230-235 and De Haan, *Na de ondergang*, 99-100.

⁷⁶⁰ *Grundzüge* 1960, 177.

⁷⁶¹ *Grundzüge* 1960, 183.

⁷⁶² Kurt Gerstein (1905-1945) was a member of the *Waffen-SS*. Being present in Belzec and Treblinka in 1942, he was an eyewitness to the tentative efforts of using engine gases and Zyklon B for the purpose of mass murder. Gerstein tried to inform the neutral countries about his observations. After the war, he laid down his findings in the so-called *Gerstein Bericht*. This report was used during the Nuremberg trials. See Hirschfeld and Jersak (eds.), *Karrieren im Nationalsozialismus*, 255-264.

⁷⁶³ *Grundriß* 1973, 264.

⁷⁶⁴ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 96-100.

⁷⁶⁵ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 121.

⁷⁶⁶ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 96-100.

⁷⁶⁷ *Grundzüge* 1961, 67 and Sandkühler, 'Nach Stockholm', 68.

⁷⁶⁸ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 140-142.

In general, the Holocaust in Dutch history textbooks during this era - just as much as their West German counterparts - is represented from the perspective of the perpetrators. Rhetoric and metaphors used in the textbooks derive from the perpetrators. In almost none of the Dutch textbooks specific information is provided on perpetrators, bystanders or victims. Students are – again - confronted with homogenous groups like ‘the Germans’, ‘the Nazis’, ‘the occupier’, ‘Jews’ or ‘the Jewish population’. We do not learn much about individual perpetrators or victims of the Holocaust, apart from some key protagonists like Hitler. *Schakels met het Voorgeslacht*, written by Holocaust survivor Jaap Meijer, crudely underestimates the total number of casualties and only mentions Anne Frank as an individual victim of the persecutions.⁷⁶⁹ In **WVN (1960)** it says that during the years between 1940 and 1945 the Netherlands ‘lost approximately 200,000 civilians, half of whom were Jews’.⁷⁷⁰ There is no mentioning of individual Jews or the hardships they suffered in the ghettos, during the deportations or in the camps. Non-Dutch Jews are hardly mentioned at all in this textbook. More words are dedicated to the (non-Jewish) Dutch citizens in the Dutch East Indies: there the Japanese behaved ‘infamously against the Dutch, terrorized the population, locked them up in concentration camps, and behaved ruthless especially against women and children’. ‘It cannot remain unmentioned how courageously many women have defended themselves against this’.⁷⁷¹

In textbook **Mens (1968)** the scapegoat-theory pops up, without refuting, or contextualizing it properly: the Jews are presented as ‘exploiters of the people’. Hitler ‘named them parasites, who did not belong to the German race and had enriched themselves at their expenses’. Together with the Marxists they were ‘to blame for the German defeat in 1918’. And the German people ‘believed him’.⁷⁷² Sometimes, individual accounts are told (here in a ‘reading text’ from **WiW (1972)**): a woman from Amsterdam wrote in 1943 about a Jewish family that were arrested, but had hidden their baby.

‘The Germans didn’t find the child. The parents were already gone. But the baby woke to the sound of their boots and started crying. Then they took the child as well, now being totally on its own’.⁷⁷³

It has long been believed that in Dutch society and politics before WWII, antisemitism did not play an important role. Some orthodox Calvinists and Catholics sometimes revealed anti-Jewish sentiments and the Dutch fascist party NSB adopted a form of antisemitism in the slipstream of their bigger counterpart in Germany. The NSB, however, never acquired more than 8% of the popular vote. Nowadays, scholarly views on Dutch pre-war antisemitism have changed (see also chapter 2). In wider circles of Dutch society, antisemitism most certainly seemed to be prevalent. Especially among religious groups as well as certain liberal and social-democratic factions anti-Jewish attitudes were visible. Jews were treated differently, were seen as ‘strangers’ in Dutch society, not with a racial connotation but in terms of social and cultural attitudes. Some elitist bastions were not accessible for Jews, like diplomatic services or student societies. This can partly be explained by the compartmentalization or so-called ‘pillarization’ of Dutch society before WWII, a politico-denominational segregation. Society was

⁷⁶⁹ *Schakels* 1960, 280.

⁷⁷⁰ *De Wereld* 1960, 316.

⁷⁷¹ *De Wereld* 1960, 317.

⁷⁷² *De Mens en zijn Tijd* 1968, 119.

⁷⁷³ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 284.

'vertically' divided into several segments according to different religions or ideologies. The best-known examples of these are Catholics, Protestants, socialists and liberals. These pillars all had their own social institutions: their own newspapers, broadcasting organizations, political parties, trade unions, banks, schools, hospitals, universities and sports clubs. This led to a situation where many people had no or at best only limited personal contact with people from other 'pillars'. The Jewish community was not strongly organized as a separate entity in this 'pillarised' society. There was Jewish health care and a modestly developed Jewish press, but there were no political organizations or an educational infrastructure. The Jewish community was small as well as divided; through assimilation and secularization Jews became more or less 'invisible', but continued to be on the sideline of Dutch society. So, although the situation in the Netherlands was considered to be relatively favorable compared to life in Germany, France or Eastern Europe, that does not mean that antisemitism was absent in this country.⁷⁷⁴

If we look at the reflections of this notion of relative segregation and antisemitic attitudes in the Dutch textbooks from the 1960s and 1970s, a certain 'distance' from Jewish suffering can be observed. 'Millions of Jews were killed in concentration camps or in *their* [my italics, MvB] ghettos'.⁷⁷⁵ The semantic representation of the Holocaust or the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands seems to be milder and less severe, compared to West German textbooks (see tables 4.15 and 4.16). Jews were 'maltreated' or 'life in Westerbork was horrible'. Textbook **GiO (1978)** expresses abhorrence at the persecutions of Jews elsewhere in Europe ('war crimes, violation of war conventions, torturing prisoners of war, extermination of groups, murdering the entire male population of Lidice, shooting prisoners without trial, reprisals, cruelties in concentration camps, mass murder, systematic liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, optimizing of their liquidation methods, camouflaging gas chambers, vaccination with infectious diseases'). In the paragraph on the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands, the tone is much softer: 'persecution, raids, deportations'.⁷⁷⁶ Sometimes, stereotypical remarks are made: Hitler had become antisemitic because 'Jews held leading positions in political life and in society, to which they, in his view, as *non-national* [my italics] elements were not entitled'.⁷⁷⁷

In textbook **GiO (1979)**, it is said that WWII was a 'terrible historical event, with approximately fifty million casualties'. Many people died ('the population of Poland declined with fifteen percent; around 5,8 million Poles perished, in Japan 1,7 million soldiers and 360,000 civilians died'). Many 'suffered from diseases, aggression, sadism, hunger, etc.' In view of the suffering, it is stated in the textbook, it is 'understandable that emotions are still roused'.⁷⁷⁸ Which emotions are referred to here does not become clear: Jews nor the Holocaust are specifically mentioned. In the chapter on WWII in the Netherlands (only half a page), it is said that the Dutch 'suffered tremendously': under German rule economic deprivation and oppression were 'horrendous', as was the Hunger winter of 1944-1945. Again, not a word is spent (in **GiO 1979**) on the

⁷⁷⁴ See Van der Boom, 'Wij weten niets van hun lot', 9-18. For post-war antisemitism in the Netherlands see Gans 'Vandaag hebben ze niets maar morgen bezitten ze weer tien gulden', 313-353 (<http://www.antisemitisme.nu/literatuur/vandaag-hebben-ze-niets-maar-morgen-bezitten-ze-weer-tien-gulden>, last consulted 11-12-15).

⁷⁷⁵ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 96.

⁷⁷⁶ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen*, 1978, 80-82.

⁷⁷⁷ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 100.

⁷⁷⁸ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979 191-192.

persecutions of the Jews or the deportations from the Netherlands.⁷⁷⁹ Instead, 'one of the most far-reaching measures was the employment of Dutchmen in Germany'. By contrast, the textbook dedicates a few lines to the alleged 'contribution' of the Jewish community itself to the 'successful' persecution of Dutch Jews. Dutch historian Kossmann is quoted:

"The Jewish council itself has registered the Jews and accompanied them with parental care and deep seriousness on their way towards the end'.⁷⁸⁰

The disturbing nature of this comment is that it immediately follows a glorifying account of the spontaneous strike by Dutch workers and civil servants in Amsterdam in February 1941, aimed at resisting anti-Jewish measures taken by the Germans. The contribution of the Jewish council to all of these measures was, as the textbook states, 'very cynical'.⁷⁸¹

Jewish culture and antisemitism in West German and Dutch History textbooks
Literary critic, philosopher and novelist George Steiner provocatively stated in 1969 that 'Europe had committed suicide by killing its Jews'.⁷⁸² According to Steiner, a cultureless, soulless, purely geographical and economic entity was left behind. Considering the fact that two thousand years of Jewish culture has basically disappeared from Europe, it seems well-advised to show young students the cultural contributions and achievements of Judaism, in order for them to obtain a better understanding of the dislocation of European history caused by the Holocaust. Furthermore, educational experts recently have considered it advisable 'not to categorize groups of people only on the basis of their experiences during the Holocaust'; through historical and cultural contextualization victims are not perceived only as victims.⁷⁸³

In none of the West German and Dutch textbooks published between 1960 and 1980 any observation of pre- or postwar Jewish life can be found. 'Jews' appear in a consistent and uniform dimension, namely almost exclusively as a collective group. This group is thematically connected to only one event: the Holocaust. From the textbooks therefore, students get the impression that Jews are a homogeneous group of victims and not real 'people' with lives, families, history and culture. The persecution and destruction of the Jews thus has become the only thing that students learn from the textbooks on Jews and Judaism.⁷⁸⁴ An example is a passage in Dutch textbook **WVN (1960)**, stating that Jews were being 'driven together in several city quarters', where the 'defenseless victims were thrashed' by Dutch fascist militia (WA or *Weerbaarheidsafdeling*) and 'had to get ready for deportation to the German annihilation camps'.⁷⁸⁵

The role and contribution of Jews and Judaism in pre- and postwar European cultural, political and economic life is therefore strongly trivialized or ignored completely. Jews are portrayed as victims of National Socialism in the textbooks, a

⁷⁷⁹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 376.

⁷⁸⁰ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 395-396.

⁷⁸¹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 395-396.

⁷⁸² http://www.geschiedenis.nl/index.php?bericht_id=370&go=home.showBericht (last consulted 16-12-2014).

⁷⁸³ <http://www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-the-holocaust/general-teaching-guidelines>.

⁷⁸⁴ Although most of the textbooks deal with the state of Israel within the context of 'The Middle East', there is hardly any information on Jewish culture or the immediate connection with the Holocaust.

⁷⁸⁵ *De Wereld* 1960, 313.

representation that is strongly supported by photos, sources and other illustrations (see §4.3). Coming back to Aleida Assmann's categories of victims (*sacrificium* and *victima*), the victims of the Holocaust are portrayed in the textbooks from both countries as 'victima'. These people, mainly Jews, have not died for a 'greater cause'; they died anonymously as 'hidden victims'. Apart from some well-known people who either perished in one of the camps (Anne Frank) or survived (Elie Wiesel), most of the names, lives or fate of the *victima* are unknown. In the early textbooks from this sample, the victims are not portrayed as part of heroic narratives, and are consequently not culturally or politically commemorated. The textbooks don't even know how many people were killed: the West German textbooks waver between 'millions' and 7 million and the Dutch textbooks estimate the number of victims between 'tens of thousands' up to 6 million (see tables 4.15 and 4.17). Distinguishing between the two sacrificial memories - the heroic and the traumatic - therefore attributes to the momentousness of the sacrifice. If death is portrayed as senseless and traumatic, as is the case with the victims of the Holocaust, there is hardly any possibility of overcoming (collective) grief or guilt, and there is no legacy of that sacrifice that can be handed over as an instrument in creating social cohesion or a collective past.⁷⁸⁶

With regard to representing pre-war antisemitism and Jewish life in Germany, West German textbooks claim that antisemitism hardly existed before the National Socialists seized power. And if it did, it was restricted to National Socialism and therefore disappeared from the country after 1945 through the introduction of a new and democratic system of government.

In **GdG (1960)**, the context of German antisemitism was confined to 'nationalists before 1933',⁷⁸⁷ in **GdG (1961)** antisemitism was 'widely spread among nationalist circles in Germany and Austria' before the war. Pan-German sentiments lingered on and were 'strengthened' by National Socialists. Jews were considered [by the Nazis] to be the 'polar opposite to the German race'. Every Jew they could get hold of 'was supposed to be repressed and destroyed'. The fact that many 'German forefathers had become Christians' was 'troublesome' for most National Socialists partly because of the historical connection of Christianity with Judaism. 'Had not Nietzsche claimed that Christianity was an inferior religion?' That is why, 'like the Jacobins and the Bolsheviks, National Socialists rejected Christianity'. But only those who took the trouble of reading these radical ideological objectives knew this: most Germans 'didn't understand Nazi ideology'. Furthermore, the Nazis had 'confessed to a positive Christianity'. Many Germans therefore 'supported Hitler because of his political and economic goals, but they did not endorse other National Socialist ideologies'.⁷⁸⁸ The textbook continues to describe the tragic fate of the German Jews through a *rise-fall-plotline*⁷⁸⁹, implying that Jews underwent emancipation processes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the twentieth century, however, a dramatic change in the history of German Jewry occurred through National Socialism, eventually leading up to the persecutions under the Hitler-regime:

'Jews, since their emancipation during the age of Enlightenment, have played a significant role in European spiritual life. Many authors, inventors and artists were of Jewish origin, especially in Germany. They were also active in economic life with

⁷⁸⁶ Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit*, 74ff.

⁷⁸⁷ *Grundzüge* 1960, 175.

⁷⁸⁸ *Grundzüge* 1961, 47-48.

⁷⁸⁹ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 18-19.

professions such as doctors, journalists and solicitors. Despite the process of Jewish assimilation, antisemitism existed since the latter half of the nineteenth century. This time antisemitism was not based on religious grounds, but on racial notions. Every political or economic mishap was blamed on the Jews. During Bismarck's reign an antisemitic league was erected, with sixteen seats in the 1893 Reichstag. So National Socialist antisemitism was not new, but the radicalization of the struggle along with the goals of displacing all Jews from Germany and finally their physical extermination ('*Ausrottung*') was. Propaganda did the rest. Of all the persecutions the Jews had to suffer in their painful history, the one Hitler initiated was different through its ideologically based systematic procedures and because of its magnitude, achieved by its 'technical perfection'.⁷⁹⁰ In Germany, at the end of the war, 'there were only 12,000 Jews left'.⁷⁹¹

In **GUW (1966)** Hitler's antisemitism was a mixture of 'personal experiences', especially from Vienna, and of pseudo-scientific explanations on the course of world history, from popular scientific pamphlets of antisemitic organizations, especially the *Alldeutschen Verband*, as well as from misinterpretations of the ideas of Nietzsche and Le Bon (*Die Psychologie der Massen*, 1895). The depth of Hitler's hatred against all that was Jewish, led many 'experts to believe that this theory was an expression of propaganda rather than a general matter of concern'. Even many German Jews 'could not imagine that in the country of Lessing and Goethe a thunderstorm was approaching that nobody had lived to see since the Iberian eviction of the 15th and 16th centuries'. Out of this (existent) antisemitism, Hitler and his supporters 'developed a myth of the (pure) blood and the (Aryan) race' (followed by quotes from *Mein Kampf*).⁷⁹²

In paragraph 3 of the same textbook (*Antisemitismus und den Kampf gegen die Kirchen*, 'Antisemitism and the Struggle against the Churches') it is stated that German Jewry was redeemed from the ghettos by the Stein-Hardenberg Reforms at the beginning of the 19th century, and obtained full emancipation in 1869, after which they had obtained a considerable position in German society. The tendency to 'merge with the so-called *Wirtsvolk*'⁷⁹³ had led to increasing equality with the Germans. Transfers to one of the two Christian denominations were frequent; marriages to gentiles were no longer extraordinary. During WWI the number of Jewish casualties had been proportionate to population rates. Many Jewish *Frontkämpfer* were awarded medals. After WWI, the German Jewry 'spawned many internationally renowned scientists (Einstein), artists (Liebermann), musicians (Bruno Walter), authors (Kafka) and philosophers (Husserl)'. Despite antisemitic speeches, writings and antisemitic currents through associations and party groups within the population and 'despite the Zionist movement that gained progress among the young', the tendency for assimilation had become strong during the Weimar Republic. This 'fruitful development' suddenly ended with Hitler's seizing of power. Already on 1 April 1933, Jewish shops, attorneys and doctors were hit by a public boycott, monitored by the SA. The law of *Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* meant the removal of Jews from their positions. The 'Nuremberg

⁷⁹⁰ *Grundzüge* 1961, 55.

⁷⁹¹ *Grundzüge* 1961, 67, my translation.

⁷⁹² *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 90-92.

⁷⁹³ *Wirtsvolk* is a term used in biology, used for the identification of bee colonies that are infested with parasites. Nazi ideologists used the word in a racial context, indicating that 'Jewish parasites' were 'infecting' the German 'host nation' (*Wirtsvolk*). In 2015, the Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag had to admit that the term had been used in the past forty-two editions (since 1966) of the *dtv-Atlas Weltgeschichte* with the same (racial) connotation. The paragraph has been changed in the new edition in November 2015. (<http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article143171250/Rassistische-Passage-im-dtv-Atlas-Weltgeschichte.html>) (last consulted 11-12-15).

Laws' of 15 September 1935 threw the German Jews back to pre-emancipation levels, in the sense that they were discarded as '*rechtlosen Freiwild*' (outlawed game') by antisemitic party supporters. The assassination of a member of the German embassy in Paris in November 1938, by the 17-year old son of a Jew who had been deported to Poland 'in the most unworthy way', provoked organized acts of 'spontaneity' by the SA dressed in civilian clothes. [...] Furthermore, 'Jews had to pay 1,25 billion Marks as *Sühneleistung*' ('expiation'). 'Of course', Jews were not suited for military service. Following September 1941 Hitler ordered that – ensuring that every relationship with Germans be avoided - every Jew (from the age of six) was required to wear a so-called 'Star of David' (the size of a palm, with 'Jude' on it) on the left-hand chest side of their clothes.⁷⁹⁴

In **ZuM (1970)** the authors state that racism and antisemitism have had a long tradition in Europe. Racial anthropologists De Gobineau and Chamberlain are cited. More often than not is 'antisemitism connected to nationalism and conservatism', and most of the time to anti-internationalism and anti-cosmopolitanism. But these things occurred in many European countries; 'only in Germany was the victory of fascism absolute'. This susceptibility to fascism is then related to the situation in the 19th century: the liberal revolution failed and all problems were solved 'from above'. The German population was kept politically ignorant, just as the German state remained backward.⁷⁹⁵ National Socialist racial ideology was 'scientifically speaking untenable'. According to the Nazis, the world needed to be 'purified from Jewish "*Parasiten*"'. Extermination camps, executions and starting a war were means to reach this goal. The National Socialist SS-state was 'aiming at the destruction of all values hitherto common in European culture'.⁷⁹⁶

In textbook **GR (1973)** it is believed that non-religious antisemitism existed at least already since the 1873 *Gründerkrach* (referring to the financial crisis in Germany, which had led to all sorts of conspiracy theories about the financial elites). One of these theories caused a radicalization of antisemitism. Many believed that 'greedy' and 'snatching' Jewish financial capitalists were 'harming normal and hardworking German laborers and factory owners'. After WWI, racial antisemitism spread throughout Germany, following Gobineau's and Chamberlain's theories on biological materialism. The Nazis believed that 'inferior Jews' had to be eliminated from society for reasons of self-preservation. New in the Third Reich was the 'consistency and systematic nature' of this racial antisemitism.⁷⁹⁷ In **PuG (1978)** there is hardly any information on antisemitism before the war: there was a 'broad antisemitic basic atmosphere in Germany', but measures against the Jews were 'disapproved of by the working class and the educated middle class'.⁷⁹⁸

In the Dutch textbooks, antisemitism is perceived exclusively as a German phenomenon. Hitler pursued the existing German tradition of antisemitism, as he had already set out his racial doctrines in *Mein Kampf*. Textbook **SCH (1960)** states that the Germans have been known to be '*judenfeindlich*' for centuries.⁷⁹⁹ In **WVN (1960)** antisemitism is connected with a 'strange religion': the Germanic paganism of Wodan and Thor. This

⁷⁹⁴ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 96-100.

⁷⁹⁵ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 119-120.

⁷⁹⁶ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 123.

⁷⁹⁷ *Grundriß* 1973, 237.

⁷⁹⁸ *Politik und Gesellschaft* 1978, 175.

⁷⁹⁹ *Schakels* 1960, 251.

'religion' did not seem to reflect Hitler's personal beliefs ('he was not religious at all'), but came from some of his followers who 'hated Christianity, because of its Jewish origin'. The hidden message here seems to be that it apparently is better to be atheist (even if it concerns Hitler himself) than pagan, and that deep down inside the Germans are true Christians, except for a small group of 'Germanic' criminals. This Nazi conversion strategy failed because Christianity was 'too deeply rooted in the German people'. One therefore had to persuade the people by using doubtful scientific theories (propagandistic by nature and coming from language sciences) on the alleged superiority of the Aryans in relation to the inferiority of the Jews.⁸⁰⁰ In **Mens (1968)** the authors are convinced of the fact that Hitler has been influenced by the philosophies of Friedrich Nietzsche ('*Wille zur Macht, Übermensch*') and De Gobineau ('superiority of the Aryan races'). All these ideas are to be found in Hitler's program.⁸⁰¹ One of the textbooks (**WiW 1972**) states that the 'fanatical and intolerant nature of the movement' were irreconcilable with Christianity. The 'gospel of this violent and fierce nationalism' was *Mein Kampf*, which Hitler had written after his failed coup d'état in 1923 'in his luxurious prison'. Main ingredients of this National Socialist cosmography were nationalism (*Deutschland über Alles in der Welt*), anti-communism, anti-liberalism and service to the community (*Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz* ('common interest goes before self-interest') and *Du bist nichts, dein Volk ist Alles* ('you are nothing, your people is everything')), as well as the Germanic myth: the 'master race and the wicked and corrupt Jewish race'.⁸⁰²

In textbook **GiO (1978)** antisemitism, after Hitler had taken over control of the state, meant a 'step-by-step isolation of Jews from public life in Germany'. Goering is quoted: '...I wouldn't want to be a Jew in Germany'. All this was 'leading up to the ... mass murder of the Jews during WWII. Hardly anyone resisted or protested against these inhuman activities: there already was a 'strong anti-Jewish sentiment' in Germany. After the liberation of the concentration and extermination camps, one could see 'for yourself what had happened'.⁸⁰³ In the other textbooks antisemitism also seems to be an invention by Hitler and the Nazis.

4.6 Individual and collective responsibility issues in history textbooks

Until the 1960s, the Holocaust was often seen as a tragic consequence of WWII.⁸⁰⁴ In some of the West German history textbooks, the Holocaust is discussed within the context of totalitarianism (explicitly commissioned by the West German Minister of Education on 5 July 1962).⁸⁰⁵ The then existing totalitarian states in Eastern Europe were considered as benchmarks against which West German Cold War politics were directed. According to many of the textbooks, Nazi crimes were able to thrive within this context of totalitarianism. As mentioned earlier, many of the textbooks state that the German people had no information about the true character of National Socialism: in West German textbook **GdG (1960)** it is believed that 'the German people were kept ignorant from information on the totalitarian aspects of National Socialism', and that the

⁸⁰⁰ *De Wereld* 1960, 302.

⁸⁰¹ *De Mens* 1968, 119-120.

⁸⁰² *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 105-106.

⁸⁰³ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 107-108.

⁸⁰⁴ See Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History textbooks', Frevert, 'Europeanizing Germany's Twentieth Century', Schildt, 'Nachkriegszeit' and Heyl, 'Duitse herinneringscultuur'.

⁸⁰⁵ Von Borries, 'The Third Reich in German History textbooks', 61.

state 'repressed the people so that they could not object to certain actions and policies'.⁸⁰⁶ **ZuM (1970)** states that National Socialist Germany was symbolic for the 'terrible consequences of what a modern industrial state can bring'. Of these consequences, the systematically committed genocide on the European Jews is listed first, the war with fifty million casualties second. The answer to the question of how this could have been possible is 'difficult' [to *give* or to *bear*, the authors leave this open, MvB], but 'it is clear is that the catastrophe began with the abolishment of democracy and human rights in the name of an inhuman ideology'.⁸⁰⁷

In the Netherlands, the master narrative on WWII was similar to that in West Germany. According to historian Jan Bank, the extensive historiography on WWII in the Netherlands also reflected the moral standards that legitimized the political and social systems emerging after 1945.⁸⁰⁸ The basic consensus about moral attitudes during WWII has long remained unchallenged since 1945: there has always been a clear understanding in Dutch society about who was 'right' and who was 'wrong' during the war. This consensus functioned as the foundation of western democracy and was hardly affected by scholarly debate or publications until long after the war.⁸⁰⁹ In the first years after the war, education on WWII thus served as encouragement for the future, emphasizing notions like freedom, truth, justice, togetherness, national coherence and brotherhood. National myths (re-) emerged, like belief in progress, and the continuity of traditions in religion and national culture. Radical elements of the resistance movement (like communists) were disregarded, thus legitimizing the new political power structure after the war.⁸¹⁰

What does this mean for the representation of matters of individual or collective guilt or responsibility in connection to the Holocaust in history textbooks between 1960 and 1980? In early West German textbooks it seems to be difficult to identify perpetrators: **GdG (1960)** states that 'one' installed concentration camps where Jews, communists and others were imprisoned. The use of passive language predominates: the Jews 'were' beastly killed' and 'millions of Jews 'were destroyed' in concentration camps'.⁸¹¹ 'National Socialism' was to blame for all the terrible things that had happened. No names of individual perpetrators are mentioned. Not even Hitler is named personally in relation to antisemitism or the Holocaust; he was 'responsible for Nazi foreign policy', and named only in relation to that topic. But he did kill his own people: in 1934 Ernst Röhm and several SA-people were murdered because they wanted to put the *Wehrmacht* [sic: the *Wehrmacht* was still called *Reichswehr* at the time, MvB] under the control of the SA. This would undoubtedly have 'provoked the *Wehrmacht*'s opposition and possibly have led to the end of National Socialist dominance'.⁸¹² In **GdG (1961)** brutality against the Jews in many cases depended on the 'sadism of the commander and the guards' whether [Jews] survived or were being 'tortured to death'. But it was Hitler who ordered the 'annihilation of the Jews' (in 1939, and later in the book after the beginning

⁸⁰⁶ *Grundzüge* 1960, 175. In **GdG (1961)** it is stated that 'nobody knew what happened in the camps' (67), in **GUW (1966)** 'the barbaric destruction of the Jews...[was] kept hidden from the people and the soldiers (121-122). In **GR (1973)** it is believed that the German population 'knew nothing about the extermination camps' (264).

⁸⁰⁷ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1970, 96.

⁸⁰⁸ Bank, *Oorlogsverleden in Nederland*, 3.

⁸⁰⁹ Von der Dunk, 'Negentienhonderdveertig; van neutralisme naar naziheerschappij', 313.

⁸¹⁰ Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 49-53.

⁸¹¹ *Grundzüge* 1960, 177 and 183.

⁸¹² *Grundzüge* 1960, 177.

of the *Ostfeldzug* (invasion of the Soviet Union)), because 'he saw the extermination of the European Jews as the decisive element in the war'.⁸¹³

Sometimes, the Dutch textbooks describe reactions of church authorities against the National Socialist antisemitic measures. According to Dutch textbook **De Mens (1968)**, churches in the Netherlands protested strongly against anti-Jewish measures. In February 1943, the archbishop of Utrecht (Monsignor De Jong) had a letter read in all churches against injustices done against the Dutch people and especially against the Jews. The Germans ('or Seyß-Inquart, according to some'), however, responded 'angrily through additional deportations and the gassing of Jews converted to Catholicism'. And although after the war 'the German playwright *H. Hochhut* [his name was actually *R. Hochhuth*, MvB] has criticized Pope Pius XII's demeanor during the war', it is suggested in the textbook that (through the authority of the Holy Father) a more 'careful' attitude towards Nazi antisemitism would have been wiser, and more intelligible.⁸¹⁴

In West German textbook **GdG (1961)** reflections are made within the context of the *Stuttgarter Schuldbekennntnis* (1945), claiming that the real criminals were 'only a minority'; but on the sideline stood 'the vast majority, consisting of political opportunists and indifferent bystanders'. Very few had the 'courage and energy to resist'. 'Without any doubt', the textbook states, there is a 'collective liability for crimes committed by one's government in the name of the nation'. In October 1945, the council of evangelical churches announced a 'solidarity of guilt': 'we accuse ourselves for not having been more courageous, not having prayed more faithfully, not having believed more joyfully and not having loved more zealously'.⁸¹⁵

One of the ways to 'escape' collective responsibility for the atrocities committed during WWII is the use of evasive material or distancing techniques. One of the evasive instruments West German textbooks employ is to stress 'the German tragedy': in most of the analyzed textbooks it is stated that the outcome of the war has meant 'German suffering' (during and after WWII) and allied control (including war trials and arraignments of war criminals). Although many people had suffered during the war, the situation in Germany seemed to be worse: the country became occupied by foreign troops, it lost its sovereignty, German soldiers were held in captivity, 3.5 million German soldiers had died, and 600,000 civilians were killed in air raids. Millions of people from the east were now refugees, cities were destroyed, and people were starving. Textbook **GdG (1960)** states that 'according to the will of the victors', the German people had to 'suffer because of the misdeeds of National Socialism'.⁸¹⁶ Americans, English and 'especially the French' showed the German population in the occupied territories '*die harte Hand des Siegers*' ('the hard hand of the victor'). However, what the Russians did in central and Eastern Germany 'exceeded all expectations and fears of the population and the western world': murder, arson, rape, deportation. Many Germans fled to the west; Poland – *um vollendete Tatsachen zu schaffen* ('to create a fait accompli') – expelled Germans from the eastern zones. They too, according to **GR (1973)**, were victims of Hitler's 'irresponsible politics'. Around three million soldiers had died, another three million refugees perished.⁸¹⁷ Hitler and individual fanatic National Socialist generals had 'tried to turn the war into a struggle for revenge and extermination, where prisoners, the aged, women and children were sacrificed through brutal acts by a fanatical 'elite' in SS-

⁸¹³ *Grundzüge* 1961, 47-48.

⁸¹⁴ *De Mens* 1968, 192.

⁸¹⁵ *Grundzüge* 1961, 82.

⁸¹⁶ *Grundzüge* 1960, 183.

⁸¹⁷ *Grundriß* 1973, 268.

and party organizations'. The result was, as one of the textbooks put it, 'that the entire German people were blamed for these measures'.⁸¹⁸ In Nuremberg many 'war criminals were sentenced'. But in Germany and abroad this trial was 'criticized because of the use of retroactive criminal standards and the fact that war crimes by the *Siegermächte* were not sanctioned' (such as the execution of approximately 22,000 Polish army officers and intellectuals by the Soviet secret service NKVD in Katyn in 1940).⁸¹⁹

As I have stated before, Dutch history textbooks between 1960 and 1980 considered the Holocaust as a German-Jewish controversy. The pre-war refugee crisis and the alleged responsibility of other European nations for instance is discussed in only one of the textbooks: **MeM (1971)** states that after 1938 'some Jews tried to escape to the Netherlands, France, England and the United States, but had to discover to their dismay that they were not really welcome there'. If in these countries 'the willingness to receive Jewish families would have been greater, Hitler undoubtedly would have had much less chances in later years to kill the Jews in German concentration camps in such a savage manner'.⁸²⁰ In textbook **MeM (1974)**, individual SS- and SD-men are portrayed as 'sadists or souvenir-hunters' and 'German industrialists used Jews as forced labor'. Individual German soldiers seem to have had 'no scruples against anti-Jewish measures'.⁸²¹ The Dutch, however, are either portrayed as heroes of the resistance or as innocent bystanders. In the selected textbooks hardly any information addresses the persecution of the Jews, except in relation to stressing patriotism: in **SCH (1960)** the February Strike in 1941 (the first large-scale protest action against the Nazis) functions as an example of how the Dutch dealt with the 'injustices'.⁸²² In **WVN (1960)**, the authors state that the Dutch people saw that the Jews were being 'driven together in ghetto's', but that 'nobody knew exactly what was going to happen to them'. Dutch fascists were on the German side, such as the paramilitary *WA* who is not only held responsible for antisemitic violence, but is also seen as an example of uncivilized behavior: they 'cowardly mugged innocent Jews' who 'were outnumbered anyway'.⁸²³ In **Mens (1968)** the authors underline the Dutch willingness (with the exception of the *NSB*) to fight for (their) freedom and against oppression, and link the situation during WWII with the 16th century Dutch Revolt against Spain. Somehow this patriotic vigilance is connected to opposing the persecution of the Jews: some words and names (deportation, *Durchgangslager*, concentration camp, *Buchenwald*, *Bergen-Belsen* and *Dachau*) that had 'obtained sinister sounds' are linked in the paragraph to 'increasing resistance and sabotage'. It is said that 'the persecution of Jews caused enormous opposition, especially in Amsterdam', which meant that many Dutch men lost their lives. However, it is claimed that the Jews suffered most of all: of approximately 120,000 deported Jews, over 100,000 were killed by the Germans.⁸²⁴

According to most of the Dutch textbooks there was a lot of opposition in the Netherlands to the increasing persecution of the Jews. 'The resistance movement grew strongly', as one of the textbooks states, because the 'centuries old tradition of tolerance was in jeopardy'. Also the threat of the 'total destruction of all Jewish compatriots' was becoming visible.⁸²⁵ According to **GiO (1979)** there was a difference in attitude towards

⁸¹⁸ *Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk* 1966, 122.

⁸¹⁹ *Grundriß* 1973, 284.

⁸²⁰ *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 300.

⁸²¹ *Mensen en Machten* 1974, 100-101.

⁸²² *Schakels* 1960, 280.

⁸²³ *De Wereld* 1960, 313.

⁸²⁴ *De Mens* 1968, 190-192.

⁸²⁵ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 146.

the anti-Jewish measures in Germany and the Netherlands: 'it is sad to see how little protest or resistance there was against these degrading activities' [meaning pre-war antisemitism in Germany, MvB]. There was 'quite a strong antisemitic sentiment in Germany'. People were 'afraid to show that they disagreed with the measures against the Jews', because they feared that they would be 'heading in the same direction'. And finally, nobody could imagine that with the 'solution' of the Jewish question, Hitler would mean extermination. Something like that was 'too horrible to be true' and was believed to be propaganda. It was only in 1945 that 'one realized that it hadn't been propaganda'.⁸²⁶ In the Netherlands, however, the Dutch 'revolted against the measures against the Jews in February 1941'. Contrary to the Jewish council, who itself had registered the Jews and 'accompanied them ...on their way towards the end', the non-Jewish Dutch population had indeed resisted anti-Jewish measures.⁸²⁷

Most Dutch textbooks therefore refer to the deportations or other anti-Jewish regulations through highlighting Dutch resistance against them. It seems that Dutch history prevails in the textbooks over Jewish suffering: instead of discussing what actually happened to the Jews in the Netherlands during the occupation of the country, seven out of nine textbooks seize the opportunity to demonstrate national concordance by referring to the February strike of 1941, protests from Leyden University, or the condemnations by the churches.⁸²⁸ Several times, the anti-German opposition at Leyden University is mentioned, where students and professors protested against the exclusion of Jewish students and teachers from universities. 'Thousands of teachers, students and civilians listened to the flaming protest of professor Cleveringa and his speech. Professors and students went on strike, only one NSB-professor taught that day, for one student!'⁸²⁹ 'This' was not so much about the Jews, as one of the textbooks put it, 'but about the long-lasting tradition of Dutch liberalism'.⁸³⁰ In this sense, the Holocaust is not portrayed as a crime against the Jews, but as a 'stain on the reputation of non-Jewish Dutchmen'.⁸³¹

Pro-German attitudes of Dutch civil authorities are not or hardly mentioned. Collectively – according to the Dutch textbooks - the Germans bear full responsibility for the atrocities and crimes committed during the war. Only textbook **GiO (1978)** refers to the fact that almost every civil servant in the Netherlands signed the non-Aryan statement in 1940.⁸³² There are – according to **SCH (1960)** - two reasons why the German people are 'guilty of these crimes against the Jews': first, it is clear that there has been a 'tradition of antisemitism among the Germans for centuries' and secondly 'Goebbels' propaganda could not be resisted'.⁸³³ In **WVN (1960)** Hitler's 'criminal behavior and bestial frenzy' acquits the German people, because 'they did not recognize his intentions'.⁸³⁴ Besides: it was a 'survival of the fittest' and 'it was dangerous to resist', although the Germans were 'not whole-heartedly supporting the Nazis'. The average German turned away from the violence and 'made sure he had nothing to do

⁸²⁶ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 107.

⁸²⁷ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 395-396.

⁸²⁸ See e.g. *Schakels* 280, *De Mens* 1968, 190-192, *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 176 and 1974, 175, *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 396.

⁸²⁹ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 284.

⁸³⁰ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 146.

⁸³¹ De Haan, *Na de ondergang*, 156.

⁸³² *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen*, 1978, 91.

⁸³³ *Schakels* 1960, 251.

⁸³⁴ *De Wereld* 1960, 306.

with it'.⁸³⁵ In **Mens (1968)** it is mentioned that the situation in Germany after 1929 was hopeless, and that a majority of the Germans 'were subservient and lacked a sense of [national] unity'. The Nazis intuitively 'sensed this desire' and Hitler 'provided the German people with a scapegoat: the Jews'. These were seen as 'non-German parasites', which had 'caused all the problems', and the 'German people believed Hitler'.⁸³⁶ In **MeM (1970)** it is stated that personal obedience was the norm, *Befehl ist Befehl* led to a culture of 'diminishing personal responsibility'.⁸³⁷ In the occupied areas in Europe, local populations stood powerless against the 'savage brutalities' of the Nazis. The success of the German action [meaning the systematic deportation and destruction of Jews, MvB] furthermore 'depended on the attitude of the local population'. 'In Poland, where in the beginning of 1942... more than 2.5 million Jews were still alive; nothing could stop the mass-murder'.⁸³⁸

In relation to the question who had been responsible for the persecution of the Jews, the used language again is often passive: Jews *were* isolated, they *were* forced to wear the yellow star of David, they *were* expelled from public life, thousands of Jews *were* sent to concentration camps after the murder of a staff member of the German embassy in Paris in 1938, and Jews *were* accused, blamed, or presented as useless creatures. During WWII, 'between five and six million Jews *were* killed'.⁸³⁹ Through this semantic 'neutrality', or the use of passive rhetoric, textbook authors refrain from specifically mentioning who had been responsible for these measures.

4.7 Conclusion

In both countries the Holocaust is increasingly present in history textbooks from the 1960s onwards. However, most of the textbooks I have analysed between 1960 and 1980 do not comply with academic and public historical findings that were prevalent at the time. The complexity of the Holocaust, although well documented in academic studies, literature or documentaries at the time, is basically ignored. In none of the selected textbooks are factual renditions completely accurate. The historical context of Judaism is completely absent: Jewish history before and after WWII is neither included in the Dutch textbooks nor in the West German ones. The 'perpetrator narrative' is still the most dominant perspective on the Holocaust in most textbooks: the emphasis lies on the actions of the Nazis and their accomplices. In most cases, the Holocaust is seen as a by-product of WWII, as an event in itself but not as the most tragic part of Jewish life and culture in Europe. The richness of Jewish culture and the difficulties in the long relationship between Jews and non-Jews in Germany and the Netherlands is mostly marginalized or not mentioned at all.

In this sense, West German textbooks from the 1960s and 1970s never really dealt with the difficult legacy of National Socialism. Insufficient distancing by key historians and textbook authors might have led to an avoidance of personal or collective accountabilities. Addressing this would have opened old wounds concerning this 'difficult past', or enhanced social divisions in this newly conceived West German state and society. It seemed therefore 'easier' to highlight heroism, bravery or stories about

⁸³⁵ *De Wereld* 1960, 301.

⁸³⁶ *De Mens* 1968, 119.

⁸³⁷ *Mensen en Machten* 1970, 37.

⁸³⁸ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen*, 1978, 80-81.

⁸³⁹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 107-108.

German victimhood. 'Forgetting' instead of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* became standard. In constructing a gruesome, elitist and grotesque image of the Nazi regime, the textbooks diverted attention from the massive support amongst the population for Nazi ideology. In the West German textbooks from this sample *rise-fall-plotlines* are dominant in the display of the history of Germany. After the defeat in WWI, German society had culturally and morally developed in a vigorous way, and a Jewish minority had prospered as an integral part of that society. Then, a tragic scenario occurred with the rise of National Socialism, implying that the German population after 1933 had been misguided by a small group of criminals who were considered to be responsible for the crimes committed afterwards. After 1945, a 'conversion narrative' understood the new West German state in the context of a national redemption of traditional liberal and democratic virtues.⁸⁴⁰ Until the 1980s, such exoneration attempts were manifest in the textbooks. They blamed National Socialism on the almighty, angry, irresponsible and sometimes insane *Führer*, who had manipulated the innocent and apparently ignorant German people. The Holocaust receives little or incomplete attention: the persecution of the Jews and other victims still is incorporated in text passages on WWII, instead of dedicating a separate section on the topic. According to Pingel many teachers had served during the war and had not detached themselves (fully) from National Socialism, so they avoided the subject. Many West Germans wanted the post-war normality to prevail, and this required staving off the recent past, instead of coming face-to-face with difficult reflections.⁸⁴¹ The real victims of National Socialism, therefore, were 'ordinary' Germans, not the Jews.

In the Netherlands, dealing with the outcome of WWII was likewise arduous. After the war, Jews were not recognized by the Dutch governments or by former resistance movements as a specific group of victims. In this sense, Jews were still marginalized in society; the crimes and traumatic experiences of the war led to suppression of 'the events', leading to a 'roaring silence' in relation to the suffering of the Jewish people.⁸⁴² It was not until the 1960s that Dutch society gradually became conscious about the outcome and scale of this tragedy. Before, the Holocaust had been 'locked out' of Dutch collective memory. After the Eichmann-trial, the television series by Loe de Jong and the publication of Jacques Presser's *Ondergang* an increasing awareness occurred.⁸⁴³

Coming to terms with a 'difficult past' requires a genuine processing of that past. In representing WWII and the Holocaust as a 'separate, closed off period in time', textbooks are creating unilateral and synchronic narratives, creating temporal distance from the episode itself.⁸⁴⁴ This might explain why the 'passive victims' of persecution did not obtain a special position in the history textbooks. Emphasizing national victimhood, the genesis of a new state, or war heroes fitted into the specific needs and requirements of West German and Dutch societies after 1945. These societies were being reconstructed or restored and simultaneously entangled into the Cold War. The contradistinction to a new form of totalitarianism or the celebration of the heroic 'active' victims offered significant value to this resurrection of the nation. It was not until the

⁸⁴⁰ Zeruvabel, *Time Maps*, 18-19.

⁸⁴¹ Pingel, 'From Evasion to a Crucial Tool', 135-136.

⁸⁴² De Haan, *Na de ondergang*, 62.

⁸⁴³ De Haan, *Na de ondergang*, 11-13.

⁸⁴⁴ De Bruijn, *Bridges to the Past*, 201.

1980s that the passive victims, in particular the Jews, gradually obtained more public attention.⁸⁴⁵

In Dutch history textbooks in the period 1960-1980, generalizations about Jews are common and some textbooks use Nazi concepts without further explanations. In my analysis, the alleged separation between Jewish, German and Dutch history is reflected in Dutch textbooks. Like in the historiography of Herzberg, Presser and De Jong, the Holocaust in the Dutch history textbooks is represented as a matter between the Germans and the Jews. In all textbooks, non-Jewish Dutchmen are portrayed (if at all) as uninterested bystanders. All of the Dutch textbooks describe the discriminatory measures taken against the Jews in Germany before 1939 in chapters or paragraphs dedicated to the rise of Hitler and National Socialism. The outcome of this process is described by mentioning that millions of Jews died in concentration or extermination camps. With regard to the situation in the Netherlands, textbooks generally stress German antisemitism, which seems to make them fully responsible for the persecution of the (Dutch) Jews. The Dutch population is represented as harmless victims, generally being unable to oppose these persecutions because of the 'cunning', 'ruthless', 'violent', 'terrorist' or 'totalitarian' character of the German occupation policies.⁸⁴⁶ The Dutch do not seem to participate in this part of history; the demeanor and measures taken by Dutch officials and civil servants are not mentioned either, let alone analyzed or discussed. In general, the fate of the Dutch Jews is hardly mentioned at all. Relevant questions with regard to matters of responsibility and accountability are hardly raised, let alone answered.⁸⁴⁷ In this sense, Dutch textbooks portray WWII and the Holocaust in terms of *fall-rise-plotlines*: an independent country was occupied by Nazi Germany, the population suffered in this long period of disrepair, but eventually the heroic outcome of the 'liberation' was the regaining of national sovereignty. The 'heroic victims' in this narrative were those who opposed to the Germans (like resistance people) and lost their lives, the 'hidden victims' were the anonymous masses that died for apparently no reason.

The question arises whether in later periods – with increasing temporal distance, new academic and public debates and more attention for (Jewish) victimhood - textbook representations of the Holocaust became more accurate, more diverse or transnational. In chapter five, these questions will be answered.

⁸⁴⁵ See Raaijmakers, *De Stilte en de Storm: 4 en 5 mei sinds 1945*, passim.

⁸⁴⁶ Schakels 251, *De Mens* 190-192, *Mensen en Machten* 1971 and 1974, 176.

⁸⁴⁷ Sandkühler, 'Nach Stockholm', 68-69.

5 Increasing Visibility and Diversity, 1980-2010

This chapter covers the comparison of history textbooks from North Rhine Westphalia and the Netherlands in the years between 1980 and 2010. The (West) German textbooks have been chosen from the *Zulassungslisten* (lists of official approval by the Ministry of Education of North Rhine Westphalia).⁸⁴⁸ The Dutch textbooks in this sample have been selected on denominations, publishing companies and estimated shares of users (see chapter 1). In both textbook markets it is unclear what and how many schools use which textbooks. Publishing houses do not (or are unable to) provide any information on relative market shares. Through informal information from several publishers in the Netherlands though, it has become clear that during the 1990s and the years up to 2005, there were basically three history textbooks for upper grades that dominated the Dutch market: *Sporen*, *MeMo* and *Sprekend Verleden*.

In this chapter, Holocaust narratives in both countries will be discussed, as well as general information on the textbooks and their authors. Continuities and discontinuities in these narratives will be described. Also covered will be what contents the textbooks reveal with regard to the Holocaust, how perpetrators, bystanders and victims are portrayed, how issues of individual and collective responsibility are dealt with. In history education major changes occurred. New opportunities for textbook authors and publishing companies consequently came about. At the beginning of the 1990s, textbooks became more hybrid educational materials (see for more on this chapter 3), containing separate exercise books, teacher's guides, CD-ROM's with (additional) exercises and sources, and web-based support. I will describe these changes more elaborately in §5.1 and §5.2.

5.1 Authors and history textbooks in (West) Germany and the Netherlands: a new generation

German textbooks

In 1996, some members of the German parliament (in particular Annelie Buntenbach, Volker Beck and Winfried Nachtwei, representing the *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen*-fraction in the *Bundestag*), formally requested the German government to formulate its stand towards the publication of the book *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* ('Stalin's War of Destruction 1941-1945') by the Military History Research Office (MGFA).⁸⁴⁹ The parliamentary members had some concern about two aspects of this historical publication. First, the author was thought to represent the so-called '*Präventivkriegsthese*', which believed that Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 was nothing more than an anticipation of the preventive war that the Soviet Union

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https://www.schulministerium.nrw.de/docs/Schulsystem/Unterricht/Lernmittel/Gymnasiale_Oberstufe/index.html (last consulted 3-7-16).

⁸⁴⁹ In the preface of the publication the current director of the MGFA, Manfred Kehrigh essentially seemed to confirm the scientific foundation of the book, which meant that a high government official apparently supported both the '*Präventivkriegsthese*' as the pronouncements of the author on Auschwitz and the numbers of victims. See for more Deutscher Bundestag: Drucksache 13/5773 vom 11.10.1996 (<http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/13/057/1305773.asc> (last consulted 11-12-2014)).

was planning to conduct on Nazi Germany anyhow. Secondly, the book was referring to the '*Auschwitzproblem*' and the '*Gasangelegenheit*' ('gas matter'), by which means the author asserted that he had not found any proof for the conventionally held opinion that 1.1 million victims had been killed in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Instead, after having consulted Soviet archives, he came to the conclusion that between 631,000 and 711,000 people had died in the three camps near Oswiecim.⁸⁵⁰ Furthermore, he believed that the widely accepted number of around six million victims of the Holocaust, had been a propagandistic invention of the Soviets.⁸⁵¹ He came to the conclusion that the original estimation on the number of victims made by a Soviet commission that had examined Auschwitz in 1945 had to be correct. From interviews with former prisoners, these Soviet officers had learned that in all the camps it could have been theoretically possible to burn about five million corpses. The author also referred to other historians, such as Franciszek Piper, the director of the Auschwitz museum, and Jean Claude Pressac, who had both been writing of about 800,000 to 1.2 million (Piper) or even 631,000 to 711,000 (Pressac) victims in Auschwitz.⁸⁵² Because of this argumentation, some critics accused the author of *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* of getting 'close to Holocaust denial'.⁸⁵³

The German government's official answer to the members of parliament was that it concerned a 'private publication', for which the author was 'solely scientifically responsible' and that both controversial matters in the book have been 'rejected unanimously' in scholarly literature.⁸⁵⁴ The author in question was Joachim Hoffmann, co-writer of *Grundzüge der Geschichte* (**GdG 1984**). Hoffmann, born in 1930 in Königsberg, East Prussia, had fled with his family to Western Germany in an attempt to avoid the advancing Red Army. In 1983 the Military History Research Office published the fourth volume of *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg* ('The German Reich and the Second World War'), which covered the prelude and opening phase of the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941. Hoffmann contributed critical articles to this volume, which were almost entirely based on Soviet sources. Hoffmann's research led to a conflict with Wilhelm Deist, the executive scientific director of the Military History Research Office. In an interview with *Der Spiegel* the German historian Rolf-Dieter Müller commented on the issue by claiming that there had been a 'generational conflict within the MGFA'; the project had been started by a former 'soldier of the *Waffen-SS* who had served in Russia and was still wearing his uniform in his head', while other employees were members of the post-war generation'. Here two perspectives on operation Barbarossa clashed; one's personal experiences apparently influenced the scientific results of one's work.⁸⁵⁵ Eventually Deist sued Hoffmann, because Hoffmann had accused him of 'suppressing of the truth about the invasion of the Soviet Union for ideological reasons'. Hoffmann was acquitted because of his right of freedom of speech.⁸⁵⁶

Hoffmann and Hillgruber were part of the team of authors of the first textbook (*Grundzüge der Geschichte*) (**GdG 1984**) from this sample. Hillgruber, as we have seen in

⁸⁵⁰ Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg*, 302.

⁸⁵¹ Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg*, 181.

⁸⁵² Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg*, 302.

⁸⁵³ Bailer-Galanda, Lasek, Manoschek and Neugebauer, "*Revisionistische" Tendenzen im österreichischen Bundesheer?*", 27.

⁸⁵⁴ Deutscher Bundestag: Drucksache 13/5773 vom 11.10.1996

(<http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/13/057/1305773.asc> (last consulted 11-12-2014).

⁸⁵⁵ www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-56479827.html (last consulted 11-12-2014).

⁸⁵⁶ Wehler, *Entsorgung der deutschen Vergangenheit?*, 52ff.

chapter 4, had served in the German army from 1943 until 1945 and fought on the Eastern Front. During the *Historikerstreit* both were considered to be in the 'Nolte-camp'. *Grundzüge der Geschichte* is a long-selling history textbook dating back from the early 1950s. This textbook was revised in 1984 and was published at Diesterweg Verlag and was used in conjunction with additional thematic *Arbeits- und Themenhefte* (exercise books), like *Weltgeschichte im Aufriss: Der europäische Faschismus und das Dritte Reich* ('World History in Upheaval: European Fascism and the Third Reich') and *Die nationalsozialistische Außenpolitik und der Zweite Weltkrieg* ('National Socialist Foreign Policy and WWII'). In these exercise books assignments are linked to primary texts with regard to certain topics. The footnotes in the textbook refer to the sources in the *Quellenband*. This textbook is the last in this series where personal war experiences of the authors or the 'generational conflict' mentioned earlier, seem to influence the content of the chapters on Nazism. One example concerns a passage on the Nuremberg Trials. The textbook states that it was 'surely correct to judge the National Socialist crimes'. Yet, according to the authors:

It is, however, regrettable that the court was by no means international. Neutral countries were not present, so that the victorious countries judged over the besieged. Their own war crimes were not mentioned at the trial. The German people not only had to face the terrible crimes committed by the Nazis in the extermination camps, but they suffered also from violence and expulsion from Eastern Europe. 'What should the German people think of the moral legitimacy of a court presided over by the Russians who had signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in the first place?' [citation from Erdmann, MvB]. Because of this agreement, the war had become possible. The possible purifying effect of the trials, namely the intellectual and moral mastery over National Socialist delusions, were herewith perturbed.⁸⁵⁷

Questioning Soviet integrity, this passage seems to respire the *Präventivkriegsthese* mentioned earlier. Apart from that, it suggests that the way of dealing effectively with the legacy of the Nazi crimes had unsuccessfully been placed in the hands of legal experts at the Nuremberg trial. The German people were facing difficult realities, and were not 'purified' by a truly 'independent' court. This raises questions about the textbook's authors and their representation of (then) current German society and its ideological connections with the 'perpetrators'. The authors hint at the assumption that it had not been possible for the vast majority of the German people to oppose Hitler. Among National Socialists he was seen as a kind of redeemer, who one had to follow obediently: 'whoever tried to follow his own conscience, was seen by the Nazis as an opponent'.⁸⁵⁸ Hitler received support because he and the Nazis 'combined national identification with social renewal; behind these goals the radical nucleus of the ideology remained hidden'. That is why many 'did not acknowledge true nature and danger of the Nazis'. And especially during the war 'it was not or hardly possible for individuals to have a realistic orientation'.⁸⁵⁹

The second textbook in this sample is *Zeiten und Menschen (ZuM 1986)*, another long standing textbook on the German market. The 1986 edition contains two parts: a *Darstellenden Teil* ('main text', pages 1-248) and a *Arbeitsenteil* ('exercise part', pages 249-347). The *Arbeitsenteil* (on yellow paper) contains primary sources, secondary sources (judgments and voices of scientific research), statistics, special maps and questions. The

⁸⁵⁷ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* TB 1984, 202.

⁸⁵⁸ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* TB 1984, 163.

⁸⁵⁹ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* TB 1984, 164 and 166.

first part contains political, social, economic and cultural history, and history of everyday life. The second part serves as a stimulus for problem focused reflection. The 2006 (used until 2010) volume of *Zeiten und Menschen* (**ZuM 2006**) contains history from the beginning of the twentieth century until 2005. Each chapter begins with so-called *Auftaktseiten*: two pages with images that represent and introduce the topic in connection with pieces of text, where central questions are formulated and the importance for the present situation is explained. Then a page *Auf einen Blick*: contents, focal points, and skills are listed. In *Info* basic historical information is offered. In *Thema* thematic concepts are used to deepen the knowledge through several sources, exercises, suggestions for further reading (also with internet sites), suggestions for more research by visiting museums, archives or monuments. Through *Methode* (at the end of the book as well as at the end of each chapter in connection with the topic) historical skills are being systematically trained, and orientation on academic scholarship is discussed. Experts (mainly historians) comment on topics in *Forum*. Analyzing history means that students are able to develop their own historical-political judgments and gain perspectives for actual and future activity. Finally, in the *Zusammenfassungen* ('summaries') exercises and exam preparation trainings are offered.⁸⁶⁰

Grundriß der Geschichte (Klett Verlag) (**GR 1992**) contains student guidelines for the methodological basis of dealing with the book. Historical and political basic concepts are listed, as well as suggestions for further reading per period. Notes and sources (in a separate booklet with key words) are added per period. This volume contains the history from the French Revolution until 1991. The book describes main lines of historical developments, not only in the Western world but emphasizes non-European developments as well. According to the authors, the interpretation of sources makes students aware that dealing with the past can be problematic. Long term developments are interconnected with short term and more specific cross-sections. "*Wer nicht von dreitausend Jahren/ Sich weiß Rechenschaft zu geben/ Bleib im Dunkel unerfahren, / Mag von Tag zu Tage leben*", in Goethe's words: history offers no recipe for the present, but knowledge of the past might make us look at ourselves with external eyes. The accompanying booklet called *Dokumente* provides different types of sources: documents that were of major importance for contemporaries, sources that were important for the legitimization of actions, decisions and thoughts by individuals or groups, sources that were relevant for historical research on motives for and consequences of historical events and sources that are considered important because they serve as starting points for far-reaching historical developments. The basic didactic idea behind this selection is that, according to the textbook, 'sources reveal that people have made choices while acting in their times, and that there have been alternatives... history is coagulated and needs to be analyzed through sources like laws, texts, statistics or maps'.⁸⁶¹

⁸⁶⁰ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 7.

⁸⁶¹ *Grundriß der Geschichte* II, 1992, preface.

Table 5.1: General features of German textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Title	Publishing Company	Year of release / publication	Percentage of academics among the authors	Total number of pages
GdG 1984	Grundzüge der Geschichte VII	Verlag Moritz Diesterweg	1984/ 7th edition (unchanged) 1984	50%	266
ZuM 1986	Zeiten und Menschen, Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk	Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, Schroedel Schulbuchverlag	1986/1st edition 1986	10%	359
GR 1992	Grundriß der Geschichte II. Neuzeit seit 1789.	Ernst Klett	1951/ 1st new edition 1992	100%	545
HPW 1998	Historisch-Politische Weltkunde. Kursmaterialien Geschichte Sekundarstufe II/Kollegstufe. Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus. Demokratie und Diktatur in Deutschland.	Ernst Klett	1992/ 2 nd print 1998	100%	270
ZuM 2006	Zeiten und Menschen, Geschichte Oberstufe.	Schöningh	2006/ 5 th edition, print A (all prints are the same as 2006)	18%	550
HO 2007	Horizonte III	Westermann	2006/print A, 2007	0%	376
H/G 2010	Histoire/Geschichte. Europa und die Welt vom Wiener Kongress bis 1945. Deutsch-französisches Geschichtsbuch Gymnasiale Oberstufe.	Ernst Klett	2008/1st edition, 5th print 2010	33%	385

Table 5.2: Biographical information on German textbook authors 1980-2010⁸⁶²

Textbook	Biographical information on textbook authors
GdG 1984	<p>Hans-Georg Fernis and Andreas Hillgruber, in collaboration with Ernst Busch and Joachim Hoffmann.</p> <p>Fernis (1910-1988) was a German historian and director of the Gymnasium am Kurfürstlichen Schloss in Mainz. 1951 He opposed to integrating contemporary history in history education, because no objectivity could yet be ensured. From 1967-1972 he headed the national teachers association in Germany. Busch was director of the Staatliche Max-Planck-Schule Düsseldorf. Hoffmann (1930-2002) was a military historian who worked from 1960-1995 at the Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamt (MGFA) of the Bundeswehr, at the end of his career as scientific director. Hillgruber (1925-1989) studied at the University of Göttingen, where he received a PhD in 1952. He spent the decade 1954-1964 working as school teacher. Hillgruber worked as a professor at the University of Marburg (1965-1968), the University of Freiburg (1968-1972) and the University of Cologne (1972-1989).</p>
ZuM 1986	<p>Wilhelm Borth, Herbert Frank, Walter Frei, Andreas Lindner, Peter Maier, Heinz Pfefferle, Dieter Rothenhöfer, Eberhard Schanbacher, Franz Ungar, Günther Zollmann.</p> <p>Pfefferle is a German expert in history didactics. Schanbacher (1945), a teacher since 1973, has published on German elections during the Weimar Republic, notably <i>Parlamentarische Wahlen und Wahlsystem in der Weimarer Republik</i> (Düsseldorf 1981).⁸⁶³</p>
GR 1992	<p>Prof. Dr. Peter Alter, Akad. Direktor Dr. Volker Dotterweich, Prof. Dr. Gerhard Hufnagel, Prof. Dr. Andreas Mehl, StD Dr. Eberhardt Schwalm, Prof. Dr. Berndt Sösemann, Prof. Dr. Peter Steinbach, Prof. Dr. Helmut G. Walther, Gym.-Prof. Maria Würfel.</p> <p>Alter taught Modern and Contemporary History at the university of Duisburg/Essen. He published on German and British history. Dotterweich taught at Augsburg University and published on historiography⁸⁶⁴ and National Socialism.</p>
HPW 1998	<p>Prof. Dr. B. Hey, Prof. Dr. H.J. Pandel, Prof. Dr. J. Radkau.</p> <p>Hey (1942-2011) lectured at Bielefeld University and was director of the <i>Landeskirchlichen Archive</i> of the Evangelical Church of Westphalia from 1985-2007). Between 1997 and 2009 he was also Chairman of the Association for Westphalian Church History. Hey wrote chapter 6 on persecution of the Jews. Pandel (1940) lectured at Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. He has co-edited several textbooks and helped shape the curriculum for history in Saxony-Anhalt. Rohlfes (1929) lectured at Bielefeld University in history didactics. He was co-author of several history textbooks. Radkau (1943) lectured at Bielefeld University. He became known to a wider public when he published a history of the environment in 2000, followed in 2005 by an acclaimed biography of Max Weber.</p>
ZuM 2006	<p>Lambert Austermann, Siegfried Bethlehem, Friedrich Wilhelm Bratvogel, Ulrich Bröhenhorst, Wolfgang Emer, Andreas Gawatz, Helga Jung-Paarmann, Hans-Jürgen Lenzian (herausg.), Tanja Milse, Felix Renstorf, Jörg van Norden.</p> <p>Austermann and Bethlehem are school directors, Bratvogel and Bröhenhorst are teachers, Emer (1945) is Senior Researcher at Oberstufen-Kolleg in Bielefeld in the subjects of history and French, Gawatz teaches history, social studies and French at the Johann-Vanotti Gymnasium in Ebingen, and lectures at the State Department of Teaching and Teacher Education Weingarten, Jung-Paarmann is academic director at the Bielefeld <i>Oberstufenkolleg</i>, Lenzian is German pedagogue</p>

⁸⁶² Not all authors' biographical details were retrievable.

⁸⁶³ http://www.droste-buchverlag.de/epages/61503075.sf/de_DE/?ObjectPath=/Shops/61503075/Products/978-3-7700-5113-7&ViewAction=ViewProduct (last consulted 11-12-2014).

⁸⁶⁴ Interestingly, Dotterweich has published on the *Präventivkriegsthese* and Joachim Hoffmann. See Dotterweich, *Kontroversen der Zeitgeschichte*, 123-160; Ueberschär and Besymenski (eds.), *Der deutsche Angriff auf die Sowjetunion 1941*, 48-69.

	and publisher of schoolbooks, Milse teaches at Evangelisches Stiftisches Gymnasium Gütersloh, Van Norden is a historian and didactic at Bielefeld University.
HO 2007	Frank Bahr, Adalbert Banzhaf, Leonard Rumpf, Klaus Fieberg (fachdidaktische Beratung). Fieberg (1952) teaches history and German at Werner-Heisenberg-Gymnasium in Leverkusen, and is <i>Lehrbeauftragter</i> for didactics at Aachen University. He has published over a hundred articles for journals on didactics (<i>Praxis Geschichte, Deutschunterricht</i> und <i>Praxis Schule</i> 5-10).
H/G 2010	Anne Duménil, Bernadette Galloux, Daniel Henri, Guillaume Le Quintrec, Bénédicte Toucheboeuf, Jean-Marc Wolff, Lars Boesenberg, Michaela Braun, Peter Geiss, Gabriel Große, Kaspar Maase. Martin Wicke. Duménil is a historian and published on WWI, Henry is an associate professor of history and teaches at Lycée Henri IV in Paris, Le Quentrec teaches history at Lycee Henri IV in Fenelon, and lectures at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris, professor at Celsa High school (attached to the University of Paris-Sorbonne), Toucheboeuf is a textbook author, Wolff teaches contemporary history at Lycée Henri IV in Paris, Boesenberg lectures at Münster University, Braun is a teacher of history and French at the Wilhelm-Remy-Gymnasium in near Koblenz, Geiss is professor in history and history didactics at Bonn University, Maase was professor at Tübingen University (until 2011).

The 1998 volume of *Historisch-Politische Weltkunde. Kursmaterialien Geschichte. Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus. Demokratie und Diktatur in Deutschland 1918-1945* (**HPW 1998**) contains historical information as well as sources and exercises. Each chapter begins with an introductory text (*Hinführung*), to make students curious. After this, a timetable is presented. The *Verfassertexte* contain facts, events, people and especially the historical context. Students should read these texts thoroughly and repeatedly and critically, because 'no author is omniscient'. He is bound by his position, background, scientific education and so forth. The sources contain different kind of texts, illustrations, maps, graphics and statistics. The number of sources here is limited; students should be aware of the fact that if other sources were included, a 'different image of history could have been portrayed'. Questions and exercises might help to deduct information from the sources.⁸⁶⁵

Horizonte (**HO 2007**) is available at Westermann Verlag in both two and three volumes, with the same contents. Here, *Horizonte III* from 2007 is analysed. The textbook is accompanied by a *Begleitheft mit Übungsklausuren* ('accompanying booklet with test exams') as a preparation for the Nordrhein-Westfalen central examinations or *Abitur*. Web addresses with historical links are added. A CD-ROM is available which has been highly praised by the *Geschichtslehrerverband*. Volume III offers the compulsory subjects for the central examinations for the years 2009, 2010 and 2011 in North Rhine-Westphalia. The structure of the chapters is clear: first the new topic is introduced on a double page with a full page of illustration and introduction, then paragraphs and main texts with illustrations, maps, statistics etc. follow. Thirdly, there are text sources and finally the chapter ends with exercises (between 3-15 exercises in each chapter). Most illustrations in volume III are used for exercises; only 19 out of 300 illustrations are being used a purely 'decorative' illustrations. There are only a few maps; only twenty-five. At the end of the book there is a section called *Arbeitstechniken und Methoden*, dealing with and handling of written sources, maps, caricatures, statistics, illustrations, etc. Furthermore there are key concepts and suggestions for further reading per chapter. At the end of many chapters in *Horizonte* there is a reflection paragraph *Fragen an die Geschichte* (on yellow pages). Topics on *Erinnern oder Vergessen?* ('remembering or

⁸⁶⁵ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, introduction.

forgetting?') and *Gibt es eine Kollektivschuld der Deutschen?* ('Is there a German collective guilt?').⁸⁶⁶

Histoire/Geschichte (**H/G 2010**) is a Franco-German history textbook first published in 2006. On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary celebration of the Elysée-Treaty between Germany and France in 2003, the German-Franco Youth Parliament assembled in Berlin. The participants called for the launch of a history textbook with equal content for both countries, in order to deconstruct prejudices that have been caused by ignorance.⁸⁶⁷ This textbook was the result. The book covers the period from the end of WWII to the present and is designed for German *Sekundarstufe II* as well as for the French *Lycée*. The textbook is published by Klett Verlag in Germany and Éditions Nathan in France. This textbook claims to provide identical contents in both countries. This of course presented difficulties: not only were different pedagogical and didactic traditions of the countries to be united, but publishers had also to take into account that the differing curricular requirements of both countries were met. In 2008 the second volume of *Histoire/Geschichte* was published, now covering the period between 1815 and 1945. The German version of the textbook contains a CD-ROM which contains the French edition. The cover is European blue. The book contains, sources, *Fragen und Anregungen* ('questions and suggestions'), and is divided into seven parts. Every part begins with a *Auftaktdoppelseite* ('opening double page'). On the left is a main text, with names and a glossary, on the right are images, statistics and text sources. Furthermore there are fifty-one Dossiers, supplementing the chapters with arts, literature or sports. At the end of the seven parts there is a *Deutsch-Französischer Perspektivenwechsel*: special features of German and French assessment of that particular topic. There are also suggestions for books, films, websites etc.

The authors of *Histoire/Geschichte* refrain from delivering main texts, but work with sources instead (to a ration 1:3). Students are introduced to the historian's profession: how to work with different sources, how to find information in archives, how to interview people. *Histoire/Geschichte* tries to offer multiple perspectives on the past; not surprising in the context of a bi-cultural textbook. Especially the *Bilanzen* ('balance sheets') offer interesting viewpoints: students learn here about how history is constructed. Historiography dossiers serve as means to critically assess historical research. Skills are important in *Histoire/Geschichte*, more so than just 'reading about history'.⁸⁶⁸

Dutch textbooks

Over time, we see that Dutch textbooks have also become hybrid instruments, composed of various parts. Illustrations, exercises and (primary) sources appear everywhere in the textbooks, offering students more opportunity to formulate and express their own opinions. The first separate exercise booklet appears in this sample in *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* (**VadG 1988**) and from then on in every set of textbooks.

The first textbook, *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* (**GvG 1981**), appeared at Malmberg Publishers from 1975 until 2000. This edition contains twenty-one chapters, each with main texts, sources and exercises. At the end of the book there is a poster with events categorized per country. The authors have chosen to change the textbook for this edition after three unrevised editions: less attention is given to the years before WWII (WWI is not included anymore) and more attention is devoted to the postwar period. The history

⁸⁶⁶ *Horizonte III* 2007, preface.

⁸⁶⁷ *Histoire* 2010, 3.

⁸⁶⁸ *Histoire* 2010, 3.

of non-European regions is accentuated, such as the process of decolonization and China before Mao, Africa and South-America. Students are encouraged to express their own opinions.⁸⁶⁹

Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw (**BTE 1984**) is aiming at preparing students for the final exams. There are ten chapters, consisting of a main text with the highlights of a certain period from the history since 1917 and an exercise part with sources and exercises. Sources are categorized in 55 themes; almost every source is primary. Source research is aimed at critical research and finding out whether historical information is either true or real. A large number of questions and exercises have been added. The authors have chosen not to give much attention to cultural history, giving as justification the limited amount of space and because the main target was to prepare students for their final exams. The main purposes of the book are stimulating historical empathy (*inleving*) and techniques of interpretation, enhancing insights into political and social-economic developments during the twentieth century within a historical context, developing or enforcing critical thinking and construction of underpinning of opinions.⁸⁷⁰

Each chapter in *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* (**VadG 1988**) begins with questions the authors raise and consequently answer in the texts. The authors believe that VWO-students ought to be exposed to more theoretical aspects of historical reasoning, of historiography and historical research as well as learn to compare longitudinal aspects of the past. In the chapter on the Netherlands and WWII, the Blom-thesis on (dis)continuity in Dutch history is investigated. Source criticism aims to play an important role in the book, because it supposes to enhance students' ability of questioning information. However, the authors believe that historical methodology should not be the main ingredient of history education, but that it should deal with 'clarifying the present by studying the past'.⁸⁷¹

The authors of *Op Weg naar 2000* (**OW 1994**) have chosen to construct separate text- and practice-books for HAVO and VWO, because of the differences in the nature and depth of both the educational levels and the subjects. The textbook is to be used separately from the exercise-book. The *structuring conceptions* ('structuurbegrippen') (like analyzing historical sources, distinguishing subjectivity from objectivity or causes from consequences, dealing with aspects of continuity and discontinuity in history and (lack of) empathy, using techniques of interpretation and gaining insight in political decision-making) have to be examined and dealt with in preparation for the final exams. The authors have tried to strike a balance between preparing students for their final examinations and increasing the students' interest in and love for the past.⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁹ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, preface.

⁸⁷⁰ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 6-7.

⁸⁷¹ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* Docentenboek, Groningen 1988, 4-6.

⁸⁷² *Op weg naar 2000* 1994, preface.

Table 5.3: General features of Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Title	Publishing Company	Year of Release / publication	Percentage of academics among the authors	Total number of pages
GvG 1981	Geschiedenis van Gisteren. HAVO/VWO-editie	Malmberg (catholic)	1981/4th print, 4th edition 1981 (6th print in 1988 is only slightly changed)	0%	348
BTE 1984	Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw. Wereldgeschiedenis 1917 tot heden.	Van Walraven (protestant)	1984/1984	0%	357
VadG 1993	Vragen aan de Geschiedenis	Wolters-Noordhoff (protestant)	1989/5 th edition, 1 st print 1993	45%	TB 325/ EB 83
OW 1994	Op Weg naar 2000. De geschiedenis van 1870 tot heden.	BKE Baarn (protestant)	1986/1 st edition, 3 rd print 1994	0%	TB VWO 339/ EB 112
SP 1996	Sporen. Basisboek voor VWO 5/6.	Wolters-Noordhoff (protestant)	1996/1 st print 1996	0%	280
PH 1998	Pharos (HAVO)	Meulenhoff Educatief (protestant)	1998 (unchanged until 2003)/1 st print, 1 st edition 1998 and 6 th edition 2003	20%	TB 248/ EB and other 275
SV 2000	Sprekend Verleden. Handboek 5 HAVO/ 6 VWO Geschiedenis Tweede Fase.	Nijgh Versluys (protestant)	??/ 3 rd print 2000	14%	TB 183
ME 2001	MeMo. Geschiedenis voor de Bovenbouw.	Malmberg (catholic)	1995/ 1 st print, 9 th edition 2001	30%	TB 416/ EB 196
ME 2004	MeMo. Geschiedenis voor de Tweede Fase. Basisboek VWO.	Malmberg (catholic)	1999/ 1 st print, 6 th unchanged edition 2004	9%	TB 374/ EB 297
SV 2009	Sprekend Verleden. Van Prehistorie tot en met Nieuwste Tijd. Handboek en Activiteitenboek VWO Geschiedenis Tweede Fase.	Nijgh Versluys (from 1. September 2009 ThiemeMeulenhoff) (protestant)	??/4 th print, 1 st edition 2009	12%	TB 316/ EB 240

Table 5.4: Biographical information on Dutch textbook authors 1980-2010⁸⁷³

Textbook	Biographical information on textbook authors
GvG 1981	H. Ulrich (in cooperation with K. van Dijk , A.J. Plas , A.L. Verhoog). All authors were teachers in secondary education.
BTE 1984	L. Mulder , Dr. A. Doedens . Mulder taught at the Christelijk College Nassau-Veluwe). Doedens was a teacher trainer and history teacher at <i>Hogeschool Holland</i> and <i>Nutsseminarium Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam</i> . He published on maritime history and is chairman of the 'Stichting 1666 tot behoud Martitiem Erfgoed Waddenzee' (Heritage Centre Waddenzee). ⁸⁷⁴
VadG 1993	Ronald Donk , Jos Hilte , Anton van Hooff , Paul van Houdt , Harry Jansen , Bram Kempers , Bert Molenkamp , Joke Rijken , Maarten van Rossem , Jan de Ruiter , Joop Toebees . Donk was a teacher-trainer at <i>Hogeschool Windesheim</i> in Zwolle and publishes on ethnic minorities. Hilte was a teacher-trainer at the <i>Hogeschool van Arnhem en Nijmegen</i> . Van Hooff lectured Ancient History at <i>Nijmegen University</i> until 2008. He publishes regularly, e.g. on Nero & Seneca, Athens en Marc Aurel. Jansen lectured as historian and history philosopher at <i>Nijmegen University</i> . Kempers lectured art history at the <i>University of Amsterdam</i> . Van Rossem lectured on American History at <i>Utrecht University</i> and as such acquired public fame. In 2003 he was elected 'historian of the year' by readers of the <i>Historisch Nieuwsblad</i> . Toebees taught in secondary education and later became teaching methodologist and lectured contemporary history at <i>Nijmegen University</i> .
OW 1994	M.G. Hoogstraten , Drs. R.H. Kingma , T. Siegman
SP 1996	Piet Groenewegen , Aart Huizer , Annemiek Lucassen , Patrick Rijke , Ger Rombouts , Arie Wilschut . Groenewegen was a history teacher and school manager at <i>Herman Jordan Lyceum</i> in Zeist. He worked for the Secondary Education Council, the sector organization for secondary education. Currently, he is management consultant at CPS Education Consultancy. Huizer , Lucassen , Rijke and Rombouts were/are all teachers in secondary education. Wilschut is an historian and worked as a teacher in secondary education. In 1984 he became lecturer in History Education at the <i>Hogeschool van Amsterdam</i> . He was the main editor of this influential series of history textbooks. He was a member of the Commission of History and Social Sciences ('De Rooij') in 2000-2001, which designed the universal 'ten era system' for Dutch history education. In 2003 he was one of the founders of the <i>Netherlands Institute for Teaching and Learning History</i> (IVGD) in Amsterdam. One of the activities of the Institute has been the publication – in 2004 - of a widely used textbook on History Teaching (<i>Geschiedenisdidactiek</i>). In 2012 Wilschut published a PhD dissertation on historical consciousness of time as an issue in history teaching: <i>Images of Time</i> . Presently Wilschut is Associate Professor ('senior lector') in Teaching and Learning the Social Sciences at the <i>Hogeschool van Amsterdam</i> . ⁸⁷⁵
PH 1998	Textbook: Bart Hageraats , Cor van der Heijden , Jan van Oudheusden , Lotte van de Pol , Janneke Raaijmakers , Wim Rongen , Jeroen Salman , Per Schuitemaker , André van Voorst , Albert van der Kaap . Hageraats was a history teacher in Amsterdam, Van der Heijden still teaches history in Tilburg, Van Oudheusden was a teacher and editor of <i>Kleio</i> , magazine for history teachers in the Netherlands. He (co)wrote several textbooks and published several popular scientific books. Van der Pol is a historian who has published on gender history, life of common people, and criminality and culture in the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1989 she published <i>Vrouwen in mannenkleren. De geschiedenis van een tegendraadse traditie</i> (The Tradition of Female Transvestitism in Early Modern Europe), which invoked Simon Schama to state that this was 'one of the most exciting works of social history written'. In 1996 her dissertation <i>The Burgher and the Whore. Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam</i> was published. Raaijmakers is a researcher at <i>Museum Catharijneconvent</i> (Utrecht). Salman is a book historian and lectures at <i>Utrecht University</i> . Rongen worked as a history

⁸⁷³ Not all authors' biographical details were retrievable.⁸⁷⁴ <http://www.annedoedens.com> (last consulted 6-7-2016).⁸⁷⁵ <http://members.casema.nl/wilschut> (last consulted 29-5-2014).

	teacher and school manager in Almere, was editor of <i>Kleio</i> and currently works as a management consultant for various schools in secondary education. Van Voorst taught in secondary education in Enkhuizen, Van der Kaap is curriculum advisor at the <i>Stichting Leerplanontwikkeling</i> (SLO) in Enschede, worked also as a history teacher and developed the digital community for history teachers Histoforum.
SV 2000	Leo Dalhuisen, Roen van der Geest, Vincent Houben, Gerard de Lange, Aart Rietveld, Christine Schunk, Frans Steegh. Dalhuisen was a teacher trainer at <i>Leiden University</i> and textbook author. Van der Geest was a teacher in secondary education and a teacher trainer at <i>Leiden University</i> . Houben is colonial historian and lectures at <i>Humboldt University Berlin</i> . De Lange, Rietveld, Schunk and Steegh were/are teachers in secondary education.
ME 2001	Dick Berents, Klaas van Dijk, Henk van Duijsen, Joop Heij, Anton van Hooff, Frans Kerstjens, Sandra van Lingen, Fik Meijer, Peter Rietbergen, Anjo Roos, Maarten van Rossem, Marjolein van Rotterdam, Hans Ulrich. Berents is a historian who lectured on the Middle Ages. Heij was neither a historian nor a teacher (interview with Ulrich September 2014). Meijer was endowed professor in maritime history and classic archeology at the <i>University of Amsterdam</i> , and later professor in Ancient History. He has published extensively on ancient Greece and Rome. Rietbergen lectured at <i>Nijmegen University</i> in Cultural History. He published several works, among which <i>Europe. A cultural history</i> which received international acclaim.
ME 2004	Colinda Backx, Dick Berents, Inge Dekker, Henk van Duijsen, Marco Frehse, Martien van Gastel, Jessie Jongejans, Marijke Harder, Anton van Hooff, Paul van 't Hout, Jelle Kruidenier, Marc Kropman, Idzard van Manen, Joost Mioulet, Anjo Roos, Bram Roozemeijer, Maarten van Rossem, Marjolein van Rotterdam, Hans Ulrich, Marlouk Wester, Arjan Westerhof. Backx teaches in secondary education, Kropman is a teacher trainer at the <i>University of Amsterdam</i> . Van Manen is a teacher and education manager at <i>Zuiderzee Museum Enkhuizen</i> .
SV 2009	Harald Buskop, Leo Dalhuisen, Roen van der Geest, Vincent Houben, Gerard de Lange, Peter Lindhoud, Aart Rietveld, Frans Steegh. Lindhoud taught history at Hogeschool Windesheim in Zwolle and became Africa-specialist at various institutes.

The historical approach of *Sporen* (SP 1996) is quite different from the other textbooks. The authors use historical information as examples of historical reasoning and of historical research. When students read chapter 4 on the concentration camp of Mauthausen, they do not learn much on National Socialism, WWII or the Final Solution. What they do learn is to observe different perspectives on historical events, and how to use primary sources, to think about linkage to the present, about differences between facts and interpretations, etcetera. Students are supposed to use *Sporen* in order to practice historical research: collecting information, categorizing, explaining and interpreting historical developments. The chapters serve as background information for that purpose, a brief historical overview is included at the end of the textbook. Students are not required to study these facts, but use this part of the textbook as a source of very basic information. The main purpose of the textbook is therefore to learn how one practices history: why is a particular story reliable and how does one analyze historical sources? Each of the seven chapters in the book covers a particular historical topic, but this content is, according to the authors, 'relatively unimportant'. For the authors of *Sporen*, it is important to ascertain whether a certain story is reliable or not. Each of the seven chapters of the book covers a specific historical topic, but this content is subservient to historical thinking. The contents of these chapters should therefore not

be regarded by the students as factual information. History is 'more than what has happened'; it should be about 'how people shape their perception of the past'. Facts and dates are 'relatively unimportant; they serve as orientation'. More important are historical research methods and gaining insight in historical developments. People 'tell stories about the past', but this is not always the same as history. History is when these stories are *true*, when they meet certain demands. This textbook, therefore, is about 'how to research the past to make it history'.⁸⁷⁶

Pharos (**PH 1998**) contains several booklets: a textbook, an exercise book, a Historical Overview, Guidelines for Historical Skills, Guidelines for assessing images, and Guidelines for historical research. The textbook contains many didactical approaches, with many sources. Every chapter begins with a short introduction and a central question; then, the topic of the chapter is more deeply explored through four paragraphs, each beginning with an introduction and a research question. Central to *Pharos* is the *study guide*. The *study guide* consists of several parts:

1. *Exercise book*: independent learning is at the center of the method. Students should be able to work through the books and exercises independently.
2. In order to get a global overview of the past, there is a *historical overview*, containing background information on the separate chapters. The chapters of the book are always arranged in the same way. First, a short introduction is followed by a research question. Then, the subject of the chapter is further explored on the basis of four sections, all of which are again provided with short openings and questions. The 'Pharos method' works with many different sources in order to get students used to doing historical research. Through exercise book assignments, students answer the research questions.
3. *Guidelines for Historical Skills*: students learn to train historical skills: asking historical questions, questioning the reliability of sources, detect change and continuity as well as causes and consequences in history and distinguish facts from interpretations.
4. *Guidelines for assessing images*: how to work with photos and other images of the past.

Pharos is like a 'travel guide that takes you along around the wonders of the world'. Main purposes are to obtain insight in historical reasoning. Historical awareness means that one understands that present concerns have their own history and knowledge of that history clarifies one's view on past and present.⁸⁷⁷

In *Sprekend Verleden* (**SV 2000**) transfer of knowledge and skills are combined. The basic elements of the books are a textbook, thematic booklets and 'signpost': a booklet about dealing with skills such as how to start a research, how to work in groups, how to reflect, how to interview someone, how to use the internet, etc. At the end of the textbook there are several historical maps. The central core of the textbook is a historical overview (covering the prescribed 'distinguishing aspects of orientation knowledge') and illustrative texts. The textbook tries to keep track with the media, films

⁸⁷⁶ Sporen 1996, 5.

⁸⁷⁷ *Pharos* TB 1998, preface and back cover.

and literature. Not everything there is to know about history is included; the textbook has limited space and the student has limited time.⁸⁷⁸

MeMo (ME 2001) consists of a textbook, accompanied by an exercise book. The *basisboek* ('basic textbook') covers world history from classical times to the present. The book covers the prescribed curriculum through topics, each of which is addressed through an introduction, ending with a summary and glossary. The exercise-book contains questions and exercises according to the structural concepts. The final examinations will test these concepts, because they lead to a better understanding of history. There are seven: source and questioning, fact and objectivity, cause and consequence, continuity and discontinuity, empathy and restraint of location, interpretation and politics.⁸⁷⁹

MeMo 2004 (ME 2004) consists of a textbook, exercise book and a student CD. The *basisboek* covers world history from classical times to the present in thirteen modules. The book covers the prescribed curriculum through topics, each of which is being dealt with through a central question. Every chapter begins with a short introduction. Then four chapters follow; in every chapter a part of the answer is given. The last of the four chapters (*MeMo Dossier*) is a research-chapter, with sources. These sources may help students to answer the main question. At the end of the book the main historical, geographical and economic abilities are listed and explained.⁸⁸⁰ The exercise book contains questions and exercises as well as planning instruments. Every module contains exercises in two or more skills. General skills (summarizing texts, opinion building, doing research and presenting the results) and historical skills (source research, arranging historical information, recognizing continuity and discontinuity and causes and consequences). These skills are practiced in the part called *Studio Vaardigheden*. Questions about the textbook and mini-research projects are practiced in the part called *TekstActief*. At the end of each chapter, students perform historical research in the *MeMo Dossier*. The last part of the chapter is an evaluation form, reflecting on the students' planning, results and general approaches. The main purpose of *MeMo* is to explain why things in the present are what they are. With the help of historical knowledge one can understand the present better. *MeMo* tries to encourage students to learn independently. The student disk contains interactive self-examinations ('Checkpoint'), a list of names and topics and an alphabetically arranged overview of historical skills.⁸⁸¹

In the revised 2009 edition of *Sprekend Verleden (SV 2009)* the basic elements of the books are a textbook, an exercise-book and a supporting website (*SV-Digitaal*). The central core of the textbook is a historical overview (covering the prescribed 'distinguishing aspects of orientation knowledge'). The chapter begins with two opening pages including the title of the chapter, a timetable and some characteristic maps and illustrations. Every chapter contains one or more rubrics, each of which are matched to exercises in the activity-book or to the accompanying website. The following sections are included in the textbook:

- *Historical awareness*: skills and notions like fact/opinion, cause/effect, change/continuity, and interpretation/perception.
- *Historical sources*: documents, films, novels, buildings, maps

⁸⁷⁸ *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, preface.

⁸⁷⁹ *MeMo* 2001 EB, 4-6.

⁸⁸⁰ *MeMo* TB 2004, 3.

⁸⁸¹ *MeMo* TB 2004, 3.

- *Time spanning topics*: men/women, slave trade/slavery, migration, public/government.

The 'activity-book' contains exercises related to the textbook or a variety of historical sources. The website contains downloadable texts and exercises, interactive exercises, an index, biographical information and suggestions for further reading, a study guide, links to historical media, exam trainer and historical maps. In *Sprekend Verleden* (textbook, activity book and at *SV Digitaal*), (parts of) transmissions of the historical television program *Andere Tijden* and the radio program *OVT* are included or incorporated. The authors state that their purposes are preparing students for their final exams as well as enhancing critical thinking about media coverage. Furthermore they hope that students can acknowledge the influences of the past on the present.⁸⁸² From the short introductions to the sections it is apparent that *Sprekend Verleden* 2009 focuses on teamwork and independent study. In addition, it is stated that teachers play an important role in the introduction and conclusion of a topic. The authors claim that the main educational target of history at school is the generational transfer of historical knowledge, but that 'older generations tend to think differently about history'. So students have to form opinions of their own and learn how to think and research historically. That is, according to the textbook, of more use than learning about historical facts that might have become outdated. History is not only about facts, but also about skills. It is not only about knowing, also about coming to know, finding out, opinion building. Historians and journalists seldom agree on interpretations of the past. History is like a sport: if you know the rules, it is easier and more enjoyable to participate. Through learning how to critically assess the media, and acknowledging influences of the past on the present, one might prepare students for their careers in higher education.⁸⁸³

Over time an all-academic team of textbook authors in (West) Germany is slowly being 'replaced' by a mixed team of historians and educationalists (see tables 5.2 and 5.4).⁸⁸⁴ In the first decades of this research (1960-1980), over 84% of all German textbook authors were academics (and 53% of the Dutch). In the sample of textbooks between 1980-2010, 44,6% of the German textbook authors was academically engaged at universities, in comparison to 25,9% of their Dutch counterparts.⁸⁸⁵ This sharp decrease in academic staff of textbook authors seems to have its effects on both content and form of the textbooks. Since many authors in both countries were active (or still are) as teachers in secondary education or teacher trainers/educators in teacher training academies and institutions, the didactical variety of the textbooks has increased considerably over the years. This further developed the hybrid nature of the textbooks (see above). As we can see from the comparison of tables 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7, German textbooks incorporate far more results of academic research in the main texts as well as in the exercise parts of the textbooks. In **H/G (2010)**, for instance, these scholarly findings are directly connected to questions like 'Why did Hitler hate the Jews?', 'What did 'Vernichtung der jüdischen Rasse' mean in 1939?', 'Was the Wannsee conference the beginning of the genocide on the Jews?' or 'Why did the police officer in source 5 believe

⁸⁸² *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 5-9.

⁸⁸³ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 5.

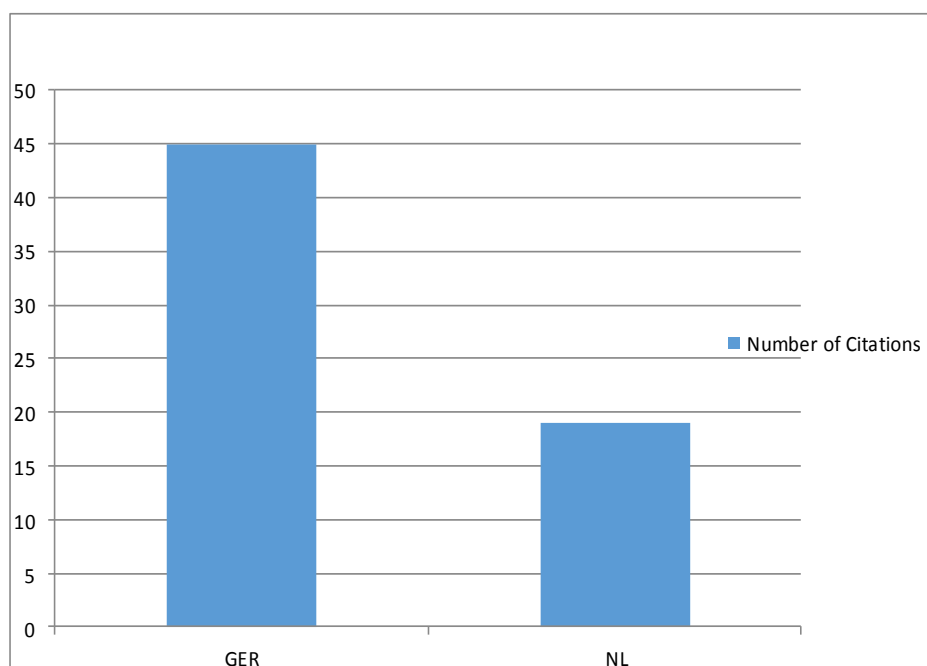
⁸⁸⁴ These results are based upon the available biographical data of the textbook authors.

⁸⁸⁵ Many (German) textbook authors have academic degrees and doctorates, but were – at the time of publication of the textbook – engaged as teachers lecturing or school managers and not as lecturers or researchers at universities.

it to be necessary to shift the responsibility for the massacre to SS-men?’⁸⁸⁶ There is perhaps no better way of demonstrating the difference between the scholarly approach of most of the German textbooks and the methodical emphasize on ‘empathy’ in many of the Dutch textbooks, by citing one of the latter. In chapter 6, paragraph 3.1 (‘Home Country and Home Nation: Nations, States and Nationalism’), *MeMo* (2004) explores ‘Nationalism in Europe’ (including Nazi Germany). One of the questions relating to this section is: ‘read §3.1 again; what color and smell do you associate with this paragraph?’⁸⁸⁷

It is fair to say that from a didactical point of view, Dutch textbooks have fundamentally changed over the years. Yet with regard to representations of WWII and the Holocaust most of them hardly have modified the way in which the master narrative is conveyed. One of the objectives is to prepare students for higher education. In other words: through critical awareness and analysis of historical traditions, evidence-based validation of historical arguments, interpretations and narratives as well as scientific historical approaches need to be essential parts of any history textbook.⁸⁸⁸

Table 5.5: Absolute number of academic quotes on National Socialism and the Holocaust in German (559 pages) and Dutch (345 pages) textbooks 1980-2010



Ideally, historical problems can be discussed through controversial topics and academic findings. From these discussions students might learn how difficult it sometimes is to judge historical processes. German textbook *H/G* (2010) for instance quotes three historians who have studied Hitler intensively: Bullock, Haffner and Kershaw. In this section, historical debates related to Hitler’s leadership are discussed, like the theory of the ‘weak’ dictator or that the assumption that the Holocaust derived from the chaos and polycracy deliberately created by Hitler.⁸⁸⁹ In *HO* (2007) a similar debate is presented

⁸⁸⁶ *Histoire* 2010, 331-333.

⁸⁸⁷ *MeMo* EB 2004, 130.

⁸⁸⁸ Sandkühler, ‘Nach Stockholm’, 50-53.

⁸⁸⁹ *Histoire* 2010, 275.

by juxtaposing Fest's personalist interpretation which considers Hitler to be responsible for almost everything (from his Hitler-biography of 1973) to the views of Kershaw and Haffner.⁸⁹⁰ Furthermore, all German textbooks except **GdG (1984)** refer to other publications, and in later years to websites or other public information media. The only Dutch textbook that explicitly refers to further reading about WWII or the Holocaust (on their website) is *Sprekend Verleden* (2009). Dutch textbooks begin to use relevant and current academic findings from 1996 onwards in a comparatively sparse way. In **SP (1996)** a discussion between filmmakers Claude Lanzmann and Steven Spielberg is discussed: Lanzmann criticized Spielberg's film *Schindler's List* because he believed one cannot show the Holocaust in pictures or images; it is only an approximation of reality. Another debate described in the textbook is that of the *Historikerstreit*. Dutch historian Peer Vries interprets the *Historikerstreit* as a 'debate about the functioning of history within a nation state: can a nation continue to function with an historical awareness of a wrong past?'⁸⁹¹ In **PH (1998)** the question is raised why has Germany played such an important role in two world wars? The *Sonderweg*-theory is subsequently explained by connecting the course of German history and the period between 1933 and 1945. Adherents and opponents of this theory (like Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Geoff Eley and Ernst Nolte) are quoted.⁸⁹² In **SV (2000)**, **ME (2001)**, **ME (2004)** and **SV (2009)** other aspects of academic debates appear (see table 5.7). Textbook **ME (2004)** offers an interesting series of sources about the *Historikerstreit*. Texts by Nolte, Bullock, Wehler, Barrington Moore, Golo Mann and Dutch historian Chris Lorenz discuss (dis)continuities in German history.⁸⁹³

⁸⁹⁰ *Horizonte* III 2007, 113-115.

⁸⁹¹ *Sporen* 1996, 87-90.

⁸⁹² *Pharos* TB 1998, 201.

⁸⁹³ *MeMo* EB 2004, 281-283.

Table 5.6: Holocaust scholarship input in German textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Quotes from Academics	Historiographic References to Academic Studies
GdG 1984	-	-
ZuM 1986	Quotes from Hofer on Hitler and the importance of <i>Mein Kampf</i> ⁸⁹⁴ , Trevor Roper on Hitler's position in the Third Reich. ⁸⁹⁵	L.S. Davidowicz <i>Der Krieg gegen die Juden 1933-1945</i> (München 1979), Sebastian Haffner <i>Anmerkungen zu Hitler</i> (München 1978), K. Hildebrand <i>Das Dritte Reich</i> (München 1980), W. Hofer, <i>Der Nationalsozialismus. Dokumente 1933-1945</i> . etc.
GR 1992	Quotes from Adam's <i>Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich</i> (1972) and Jäckel's <i>Hitlers Weltabschauungen</i> (1969). ⁸⁹⁶	Academic research is included and footnotes refer to publications on National Socialism and antisemitism. Many paragraphs end by <i>Fragen der Forschung</i> : ten to fifteen lines on scientific debates related to the topic. Suggestions for further reading are listed per period: in the era of National Socialism e.g.: K.D. Erdmann, S. Haffner, J.C. Fest, E. Nolte, H. Rothfels, K.D. Bracher, H.-U. Thamer.
HPW 1998	Quotes from Loewenstein's <i>Psychoanalyse des Antisemitismus</i> (1968), Krausnick's <i>Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges</i> (publ. 1981, about the <i>Einsatzgruppen</i>). ⁸⁹⁷ Also c Quotes from Kogon's <i>Der SS-Staat</i> (1946) (for the first time connecting the SS with the German concentration camp system, with references to Bracher and Thamer). ⁸⁹⁸ The <i>Historikerstreit</i> is documented in an introduction and a text by Mommsen . ⁸⁹⁹ Furthermore, quotes follow by Kolb on the Weimar Republic, Hillgruber on Nazi policy and Buchheim on command structures ('Befehl und Gehorsam', in: Buchheim/Jacobsen/Krausnick, <i>Anatomie des SS-Staates</i> (München 1967). ⁹⁰⁰	In chapter VI (" <i>Machtergreifung</i> ", " <i>Gleichschaltung</i> " und <i>NS-Herrschaft in Deutschland</i>) there are 21 references to academic studies, among them Arendt, Bracher, Hilberg, Reitlinger.
ZuM 2006	In <i>Forum</i> (where experts have their say, mainly historians) texts on the rise of National Socialism and Hitler by Kolb (2002) and Peukert (1987). ⁹⁰¹ Bergmann on National Socialism and its ideology. ⁹⁰² Schörken on attitudes	Suggestions for further reading (also with internet sites), suggestions for more research by visiting museums, archives or monuments. <i>Methode</i> : at the end of the book as well as at the end of each chapter historical skills are being systematically trained related to the topic of the chapter, followed by

⁸⁹⁴ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 196.⁸⁹⁵ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 223.⁸⁹⁶ *Grundriß der Geschichte II* 1992, 342.⁸⁹⁷ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 174.⁸⁹⁸ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 174.⁸⁹⁹ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 228-230.⁹⁰⁰ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 243.⁹⁰¹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 90-93.⁹⁰² *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 108-109.

	towards National Socialism. ⁹⁰³ On the camps sociologist Sofsky is quoted (1999). ⁹⁰⁴ On the position of the Wehrmacht Wehler's address at the opening of the Wehrmacht-exhibition in Hamburg. ⁹⁰⁵	orientation on academic scholarship and interdisciplinary key qualifications. References to other spokesmen (academics) through quotes and footnotes.
HO 2007	Quotes from and discussions on Goldhagens' thesis, Mitscherlich and collective mourning, Kershaw and Haffner on Hitler: ⁹⁰⁶ Quotes from Fest on Hitler and followed by theories on fascism and totalitarianism (Kühnl 1979, Bauer 1967, Wippermann 1972), Greiffenhagen (1979). ⁹⁰⁷	Suggestions for further reading per chapter (slightly outdated).
H/G 2010	Quotes from Diewald-Kerkmann on denunciation during the Third Reich. ⁹⁰⁸ Haffner (2003) on SA-terror, Döscher on the <i>Reichskristallnacht</i> (2000) ⁹⁰⁹ , Bullock , Haffner , Kershaw on Hitler (separate page) ⁹¹⁰ , Arendt , Friedrich and Kershaw on totalitarianism. ⁹¹¹ In the chapter about 'Europe under German Siege' quotes follow from Hilberg on <i>Aktion Reinhardt</i> , Pätzhold/Schwarz on Wannsee (1992), Klee/Dressen/Rieß on the <i>Einsatzgruppen</i> (1998), Browning (<i>Ordinary Men</i> 1999), Hilberg , USHMM and Gutman/Rozet and Benz on the number of victims, A map of camps is from Schwarz (1996), eye witnesses and Auschwitz survivor from Piper (1993). ⁹¹²	Suggestions for reading, films, websites and other sources. For instance eye witness accounts (Lucie Aubrac (a French woman who fought the Gestapo, the diary of Anne Frank, Primo Levi, Art Spiegelman's <i>Maus</i>), academic publications (Benz, <i>Der Holocaust</i> , or Hilberg, <i>Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden</i>). Suggestions are made for visiting (the websites of) museums or documentation centres like the <i>Memorial pour la paix</i> in Caen, the USHMM in Washington or Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. Furthermore, a list of films is added: <i>Deutschland im Jahre 0</i> , <i>Das Haus nebenan</i> , <i>Lili Marleen</i> , <i>Shoah</i> , <i>Au revoir les enfants</i> , <i>Schindler's List</i> , <i>The Pianist</i> , <i>Sophie Scholl</i> . ⁹¹³ Students are introduced to the historian's profession: how to work with different sources, how to find archive materials, how to interview people. Historiographic 'dossiers' serve as means to critically assess historical research.

⁹⁰³ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 142.

⁹⁰⁴ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 172.

⁹⁰⁵ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 187.

⁹⁰⁶ *Horizonte* III 2007, 113.

⁹⁰⁷ *Horizonte* III 2007, 113-115.

⁹⁰⁸ *Histoire* 2010, 266.

⁹⁰⁹ *Histoire* 2010, 269.

⁹¹⁰ *Histoire* 2010, 274.

⁹¹¹ *Histoire* 2010, 290-291.

⁹¹² *Histoire* 2010, 330-337.

⁹¹³ *Histoire* 2010, 355.

Table 5.7: Holocaust scholarship input in Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Quotes from Academics	Historiographic References to Academic Studies
GvG 1981	Wasserman (<i>Britain and the Jews of Europe</i>), on possible Allied bombing of Auschwitz. ⁹¹⁴ Höhne (<i>Het zwarte korps onder de doodskop</i> 1967) on Himmler. ⁹¹⁵	No
BTE 1984	No	No
VadG 1993	American psychiatrist Lifton who published on “Nazi doctors” (<i>The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide</i> (1986)).	No
OW 1994	No	No
SP 1996	The <i>Historikerstreit</i> is discussed through Dutch historian Vries . ⁹¹⁶ References are made to Hilberg’s <i>Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders The Jewish catastrophe, 1933-1945</i> (1992) and Maršálek’s 1980 publication on Mauthausen (<i>Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation</i>). Also, the last volume of De Jong’s <i>Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog</i> .	No
PH 1998	The <i>Sonderweg</i> -thesis is discussed through historians Wehler, Eley and Nolte . ⁹¹⁷	No
SV 2000	<i>Ondergang</i> by Presser (1965). De Jong (<i>Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog</i>). ⁹¹⁸	No
ME 2001	The <i>Historikerstreit</i> through Nolte . Bullock <i>Hitler and Stalin – Parallel Lives</i> (1991). Presser published <i>Ondergang</i> and De Jong <i>Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog</i> . ⁹¹⁹	No
ME 2004	Blom’s inaugural lecture at the University of Amsterdam. ⁹²⁰ Sources on <i>Historikerstreit</i> and Goldhagendebates by Nolte, Bullock, Wehler, Barrington Moore, Golo Mann and Lorenz . ⁹²¹	No
SV 2009	On the intentionalist character of the Holocaust: Burin and Haffner . ⁹²²	Suggestions for further reading

⁹¹⁴ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 125.⁹¹⁵ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 53. Heinz Höhne (1926-2010) was a reporter and publisher who worked for the German magazine *Der Spiegel*. His research on the SS was published in 1967 as *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf – Die Geschichte der SS* (last known edition Munich 2008). In 2013 *Der Spiegel* revealed that Heinz Höhne used information offered by the ‘*Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehemaliger Abwehr-Angehöriger*’ (AGEA), an organization founded in the 1960s by former members of the counter intelligence (during WWII led by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris) with the aim of ‘detecting journalistic attacks at home and abroad against the institution and members of the former counter intelligence service, especially those from the East’. Höhne was ‘systematically biased by information and memories’ provided by AGEA-members. (see *Der Spiegel* 3/2013 ‘Gekaufte Geschichte; Die NS-Vergangenheit des BND-Chefs Reinhard Gehlen wurde von einem Historiker retuschiert – im Auftrag des Bundesnachrichtendienstes’).⁹¹⁶ *Sporen* 1996, 90.⁹¹⁷ *Pharos* TB 1998, 187 and 201.⁹¹⁸ *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 63.⁹¹⁹ *MeMo* 2001, 197.⁹²⁰ *MeMo* EB 2004, 234.⁹²¹ *MeMo* EB 2004, 281-283.⁹²² *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 115-119

5.2 Facts and figures: quantitative information

A quantitative comparison of Holocaust narratives in history textbooks in North Rhine Westphalia and the Netherlands demonstrates that West German textbooks published between 1980 and 2010 devote 20,3% of the total number of pages to National Socialism and WWII, 16,4% of which to the Holocaust (see table 5.8). Dutch textbooks spent 12,6% on the Third Reich and WWII, 14,3% of which to the persecutions of the Jews.⁹²³ In comparison with the years between 1960 and 1980, the absolute number of pages dedicated to the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands has remained unchanged: 0,6 pages in average (see table 5.9).

Table 5.8: Quantitative information in German textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Pages on NS & WW2	Pages on Holocaust	Illustrations on Holocaust	Number of primary sources on the Holocaust
GdG 1984	29 (10,9%)	1 (3,4%)	2	0/5
ZuM 1986	87 (24,2%)	11 (12,6%)	5	7
GR 1992	58 (10,6%)	3,5 (6,1%)	1/2	6
HPW 1998	134 (50%)	14 (10,4%)	4	4
ZuM 2006	105 (19,1%)	22 (20,9%)	17	24
HO 2007	68 (18,1%)	20 (29,4%)	20	15
H/G 2010	78 (20,3%)	20 (25,6%)	15	8
AV	79,9 (20,3%)	13,1 (16,4%)	9,4	9,9

Table 5.9: Quantitative information in Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Pages on NS and WW2	Pages on Holocaust	Pages on the Holocaust in NL	Illustrations on Holocaust	Number of primary sources on the Holocaust
GvG 1981	54 (15,5%)	7 (13%)	1,5	8	3
BTE 1984	44 (12,3%)	2 (4,5%)	0,5	1	4
VadG 1993	32 (9,8%)	6,5 (20,3%)	1	14/7	3/2
OW 1994	41 (12%)	2,5 (6,1%)	1	4	0
SP 1996	27 (8,6%)	20 (74%)	0	27	19
PH 1998	17 (6,9%)	1 (5,9%)	0	1/1	2
SV 2000	34 (7,9%)	1,5 (4,4%)	0,25	4	0
ME 2001	47 (11,3%)	3,5 (7,4%)	1	4	0/8
ME 2004	24 (6,4%)	2 (8,3%)	0,5	3/4	2/9
SV 2009	25 (7,9%)	3,5 (14%)	0,5	7	0/16
AV	34,5 (12,6%)	4,9 (14,3%)	0,63	8,5	6,8

As I have described in chapters three and four, education about the Holocaust, both in West Germany and the Netherlands, essentially started in the 1970s. In North Rhine

⁹²³ It must be noted that (*Sporen*, 1996) is thematically oriented and deals solely with concentration camp Mauthausen).

Westphalia, 1978 state legislation⁹²⁴ stressed the importance of teaching about National Socialism (see chapter 3). In order to counter revisionists and neo-Nazi groups, special emphasis was directed towards the causes of the Holocaust: racism, antisemitism, discrimination, prejudice, and more. This was not confined to history teaching only; in political science classes, religion and German language courses the Holocaust would have to be covered as well.⁹²⁵ This is in great contrast to the Dutch situation, where the Holocaust has been incorporated in the general history of National Socialism and WWII.

However, in both countries, still not many textbooks have separate chapters on the Holocaust. Furthermore, the content of the Holocaust is not always linked to events from 1933 onwards, and is often placed under a general chapter on WWII, as if it were a 'by-product or consequence of the war instead of a fulfillment of a German antisemitic extermination policy'.⁹²⁶ The results of a 2015 UNESCO-research project entitled 'International Status of Education on the Holocaust, A Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula' (in collaboration with the Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Textbook Research), make comparisons in representations of the Holocaust in school textbooks and national curricula. Twenty-six countries are analyzed and compared. The UNESCO-report states that German textbooks contain more information about the Holocaust than ever before, and offer – in international comparison – an 'almost unprecedented breadth and diversity'. However, this variety is also prone to errors; much of the information on the Holocaust still is 'inaccurate', according to historian Peter Carrier, one of the researchers of the UNESCO-project.⁹²⁷

In a 2012 study of sixteen history textbooks authorized in the state of Berlin, Thomas Sandkühler analyzed Holocaust representations in newly released textbooks for *Sekundarstufe I* and *II*. None of the analyzed textbooks appeared to be without faults. Most shortcomings Sandkühler found were related to the implicit or explicit synonymous use of concentration camps and extermination camps. Life in the ghettos and mass murders in the Soviet Union were mostly neglected. The Chełmno extermination camp or the *Aktion Reinhardt*⁹²⁸ in central Poland had been wrongly commented upon. Furthermore, the textbooks were 'Auschwitz-centered', the euthanasia programs neglected, as was the question why the extermination happened in Eastern Europe. About the extermination camps in connection to *Aktion Reinhardt*, the textbooks provided confusing information: gas chambers, crematoria, mass murder and forced labor were all presented without explanation of their interconnectedness. In reality, these camps were meant to kill people through mass gassings after which the bodies were disposed of in crematoria. The only people who had 'worked' there were the ones who assisted in the killing operations. Maps often produced mistakes too.⁹²⁹

The term 'Holocaust' gradually appears in my sample of textbooks. The first German textbook that uses (and comments upon) the notion 'Holocaust' is *Zeiten und*

⁹²⁴ 'Die Behandlung des Nationalsozialismus im Unterricht', in *Schul- und Bildungsgesetze des Landes NRW* (1978), pp. 717-719.

⁹²⁵ Pagaard, 'German Schools and the Holocaust', 544-545.

⁹²⁶ Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 107.

⁹²⁷ <http://www.spiegel.de/schulspiegel/wissen/holocaust-schulbuchkritik-falsche-darstellung-des-judenmords-a-945412.html> (last consulted 4-7-16).

⁹²⁸ The code name used for the killing of Jews from the ghettos in central Poland, which according to Höss was initially named after Fritz Reinhardt, who was the State Secretary of Finance and responsible for the redistribution of confiscated Jewish belongings. Commonly accepted, however, is the view that the operation was named after Reinhard (or Reinhardt) Heydrich, who had been assassinated in the same summer of 1942 (see <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/der-zweite-weltkrieg/voelkermord/aktion-reinhardt.html>, last consulted 27-7-2016).

⁹²⁹ Sandkühler, 'Nach Stockholm', 59-62.

Menschen (2006), where it is stated in the paragraph *Der Mord an den europäischen Juden* ('murder of the European Jews') that the Holocaust ('Greek: holos=total, kaustes=burned') or 'in Nazi jargon the 'Endlösung der Judenfrage' characterizes the 'singular nature in world history of the crimes committed by the National Socialist regime'. Why that is, is not explained, however.⁹³⁰ In *Horizonte* (2007) 'Holocaust' is presented as a term to describe the mass murder (especially) on European Jews, which 'has become common language, mainly after the broadcast of an American film with the same title'. This term, according to the authors, 'is not appropriate, because it originally refers to a religious sacrifice. The Jews therefore use the term 'Shoah', the Hebrew word for 'destruction'.⁹³¹ In *Histoire/Geschichte* (2010) the word *Shoah* is consequently used, which probably demonstrates French influences. The textbook states that this word, derived from Hebrew meaning 'catastrophe', appeared in the 1970s to indicate the 'singular character of the genocide on the Jews'. The textbook states that the use of the word 'Holocaust' in the United States and Germany has often been criticized because of the fact that it is a biblical term for 'victims of a religious sacrifice'.⁹³² *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* (1989) is the first Dutch textbook that mentions the word 'holocaust': with a lower case letter and without explanation. *Sporen* (1996) mentions both *Holocaust* in the main text (in the glossary it says: *see Shoah*) and *Shoah* ('Hebrew for 'destruction', the systematic murder on millions of Jews during WWII in National Socialist extermination camps'). According to the textbook 'the term 'shoah' came into use since 1985, when a documentary film was made about this genocide'. Other terms are 'Holocaust' (Greek for burnt offering), 'used since an American tv-series appeared'.⁹³³ In *PH* (1998) it is believed that 'later survivors called this drama the *Holocaust*'.⁹³⁴ *SV* (2000), *ME* (2001) and *ME* (2004) mention the notion without further explanation.

Table 5.10: Holocaust in time and geographical scope in German textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	When did the Holocaust take place?	Where did the Holocaust take place?
GdG 1984	When Hitler took control over the state, the battle against the Jews began. Many Jewish civil servants were fired in 1933, others were imprisoned and tortured in concentration camps. Systematic persecutions began in 1935 with the Nuremberg Laws, followed by the <i>Reichskristallnacht</i> in 1938. On 30 January 1939 Hitler announced the ' <i>Vernichtung der jüdischen Rasse in Europa</i> ' in case of a war.	In Germany, and afterwards in the occupied countries where the Russian campaign 'offered possibilities' to exterminate all Jews within the Reich. SS- <i>Einsatzkommandos</i> started mass shootings in Eastern Europe, Jews were brought to ghettos in major Polish cities and to <i>Vernichtungslager</i> in Poland (Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibor 'and others').

⁹³⁰ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 128.

⁹³¹ *Horizonte* III 2007, 86-87.

⁹³² *Histoire* 2010, 330.

⁹³³ *Sporen* 1996, 256.

⁹³⁴ *Pharos* HO 1998, 72.

ZuM 1986	Antisemitism increased in 1933. The first wave began in April 1933, the second wave in 1935, the third phase in 1938, and the fourth phase in 1942: 'die "Endlösung" der Judenfrage', meaning mass extermination of the Jews.	In Germany and the occupied territories, beginning in Poland and Russia. In the extermination camps Chełmno, Sobibór, Bełzec, Treblinka, Majdanek and Auschwitz-Birkenau. In ghettos in Warsaw and Lodz.
GR 1992	Nazi racial politics began with Hitler's <i>Mein Kampf</i> , in 1935 and 1938 discriminatory measures were taken. The genocide began from 1941 onwards and ended with the liberation of the camps by Allied forces.	First in Germany, than after 1941 in Poland and the Soviet Union. Auschwitz and Sobibór mentioned as extermination camp. In the Warsaw ghetto.
HPW 1998	The first phase was from 1933 until 1939, mainly aimed at 'pushing back Jewish influences in Germany'. The second phase aimed at extermination, the so-called 'Final Solution'. After the Wannsee Conference in 1942 European Jews were deported to ghettos and camps.	First in Germany, than after 1942 in the occupied eastern zones, in Poland extermination camps emerged, Auschwitz being the largest. Buchenwald is mentioned. In the Warsaw ghetto.
ZuM 2006	<i>Hetze und Terror (1933-1934), "Nürnberger Gesetze" und systematische Ausgrenzung (1935-1938), Einengung und Kontrolle der jüdischen Lebensverhältnisse (1938-1941), Der Holocaust (1941-1945).</i>	First in Germany, after the invasion of the Soviet Union things worsened. Jews were murdered in extermination camps Sobibór, Bełzec, Chełmno, Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka, the latter mainly constructed for the liquidation of the people of the Warsaw ghetto. In Auschwitz II/Birkenau around 1.4 million people were murdered.
HO 2007	Between 1933 and 1939 some two hundred and fifty laws were issued to restrict Jewish existence. After 1942, German Jews were deported to the east. The decision to kill Jews, Sinti and Roma has probably been taken in the second half of 1941. In January 1942 the Wannsee Conference took place. Mass gassings in Auschwitz started June 1942.	In June 1941 mass shootings started in the Baltic states, <i>Weissruthenien</i> (eastern Poland and Belarus), Ukraine and Crimea. In December 1941 the first gassings took place in Chełmno, Auschwitz was liberated by the Red Army in January 1945. In the Warsaw ghetto.
H/G 2010	From 1933-1939 violence, repression and terror against the Jews and other victims occurred in Germany. From June 1941 onwards a "Vernichtungskrieg" led to radicalization and provoked the Holocaust. The Babi Yar massacre of September 1941 was a forerunner. Polish Jews were murdered after the failure of the Blitzkrieg in the autumn of 1941. On 20 January 1942 at the Wannsee Conference the 'Endlösung der Judenfrage' was discussed, leading to the operationalization of extermination camps. Einsatzgruppen continued to proceed with mass shootings until 1943.	In concentration camps in Germany (Dachau, Oranienburg, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen) or elsewhere (Natzweiler/Struthof, Theresienstadt). In the Soviet Union, Poland, Babi Yar, Auschwitz, Vichy-France. Majdanek, Bełzec, Chełmno, Treblinka.

When it comes to phasing the Holocaust, German textbooks in general distinguish two stages of discrimination and persecution of Jews and other victims (see table 5.10). The first phase, from April 1933 until 1939, is characterized by boycott actions, discrimination, terrorization and persecutions (mainly of political opponents and German Jews). In the textbooks, the climaxes of these proceedings are the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935 and the 1938 *Reichskristallnacht*. Two textbooks (**ZuM 2006** and **H/G 2010**) mention more elaborate classifications, for instance:

1. *Hetze und Terror* (1933-1934)
2. *“Nürnberger Gesetze” und systematische Ausgrenzung* (1935-1938)
3. *Einengung und Kontrolle der Jüdischen Lebensverhältnisse* (1938-1941)
4. *Der Holocaust* (1941-1945)⁹³⁵

The beginning of the actual genocide remains a matter of discussion: some textbooks mention that the Holocaust begins *in den ersten Kriegstagen* ('during the first days of the war') (**GR 1992**)⁹³⁶, or in 1942 after the *Wannsee Conference* in January 1942 (**GdG 1984**, **ZuM 1986**, **HPW 1998**). Some (**HO 2006**, **ZuM 2006**, **H/G 2010**) state that the Holocaust developed from the radicalization of the actions pursued from June 1941 onwards during the war against the Soviet Union, e.g. after the executions in September 1941 at Babi Yar, the failure of the Blitzkrieg in the autumn of 1941, or the infrastructural inability to deport the Polish Jews towards the east. The Wannsee Conference was crucial according to some textbooks, because there 'it became clearly expressed that nobody was supposed to survive, and the *Vernichtungslager* were becoming operational'.⁹³⁷ Or: the 'implementation of the insane idea of systematic extermination of an entire people began in spring 1942 with the so-called Wannsee Conference (20.1.1942), led by Reinhard Heydrich'. Due to the 'ineffectiveness' of the mass shootings, extermination camps were to be erected.⁹³⁸

The geographical locations of the Holocaust largely remain unclear in the German textbooks (see table 5.10). All textbooks deal with the persecutions in Germany after 1933, but only textbook **H/G (2010)** mentions specific concentration camps where prisoners were held, tortured or killed: Dachau, Oranienburg, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Natzweiler/Struthof, Theresienstadt).⁹³⁹ All German textbooks mention ghettos, in most cases referring to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. What connection there was between the ghettos and some of the camps, is hardly explicitly mentioned. Only in **GR (1992)**, **ZuM (2006)**, **HO (2007)** and **H/G (2010)** it is stated that after the announcement of deportation of the remaining Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto, the uprising began.⁹⁴⁰ The extermination of Jews and other victims took place in 'Eastern

⁹³⁵ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 117.

⁹³⁶ *Grundriß der Geschichte* II 1992, 340-342.

⁹³⁷ *Histoire* 2010, 266. In *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* (**HPW 1998**) also, a photo of the Buchenwald Mahnmal is published. Students are asked to compare this picture with photos of concentration camp reality and to discuss the difficulties of capturing the suffering of the victims of National Socialism in a monument (p 242).

⁹³⁸ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 128-129.

⁹³⁹ *Histoire* 2010, 330-334.

⁹⁴⁰ *Grundriß der Geschichte* II 1992, 341. *Horizonte* III 2007, 87. *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 128-129. *Histoire* 2010, 334.

Europe' (**GdG 1984**), or in 'Poland' (five textbooks) or in Russia/Soviet Union (four textbooks). **HO (2007)** is more specific by mentioning regions such as the Baltic states, *Weissruthenien* (eastern Poland and Belarus), Ukraine and the Crimea.⁹⁴¹ With regard to the extermination camps, three textbooks mention camps like Chełmno, Bełżec and Majdanek. Sobibór and Treblinka are listed in four of the textbooks. All German textbooks – sometimes extensively – deal with Auschwitz.

Most German textbooks use maps (all except **GdG (1984)** and **GR (1992)**), but not always portray the magnitude of the crimes: In **ZuM (1986)** a map of the concentration camps in Nazi controlled Europe is shown in order to demonstrate 'how powerful the totalitarian state was'.⁹⁴² Next to maps of concentration and extermination camps in Nazi occupied Europe, **HO (2007)** and **H/G (2010)** provide site plans of Auschwitz-Birkenau as **ZuM (2006)** shows the plan of camp Dachau.

In the Dutch textbooks, the outset of the Holocaust also remains relatively indistinct (see table 5.11). Most textbooks believe that National Socialist racial politics begin either in 1933, in 1935 or in 1938 with respectively discriminatory measures, the Nuremberg Laws and/or the *Reichskristallnacht* (**A, B, C, D, E, G, H, I, J**). These textbooks clearly indicate that before the war these measures were aimed at Jews living in Germany, who became increasingly isolated and terrorized.

When the actual mass killings begin is another matter. Some textbooks do not provide a precise timeframe at all (**BTE 1984, OWN 1994, SP 1996** and **PH 1998**). Others consider the Wannsee Conference (**GvG 1981, ME 2001, SV 2009**), 'mass gassings in 1942' (**VaG 1993**) or 'when Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941' (**SV 2000**) as starting points of the mass murders. When exactly the Dutch Jews were deported is also subject to variation: eight out of ten textbooks do not give any time-relevant details at all (**A, B, C, E, F, G, I**), some claim it happened somewhere in 1942 (**ME 2001**) or 1943 (**OWN 1994**). Textbook **SV (2009)** is the only one that offers specific information: 'in the period July 1942- September 1943 the majority of the Dutch Jews were brought to Westerbork. From 15 July 1942 trains left for Sobibór or Auschwitz once or twice a week'.⁹⁴³

Table 5.11: Holocaust in time and geographical scope in Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	When did the Holocaust take place?	Where did the Holocaust take place?
GvG 1981	Anti-Jewish measures began immediately in 1933. Afterwards: the Nuremberg Laws and the <i>Reichskristallnacht</i> in 1935 and 1938; in January 1942 the Wannsee Conference, Dutch Jews were deported in 1942 and 1943.	In the Soviet Union, in concentrations camps such as Dachau and Mauthausen. In the Amsterdam ghetto and Westerbork. In extermination camps in Poland such as Auschwitz, Bełżec, Treblinka, Majdanek, Sobibór.
BTE 1984	In Germany in 1935 the Nuremberg Laws were adopted. In 1938 the <i>Reichskristallnacht</i> occurred. During the war many millions of people were sent to extermination camps. In February 1941 a strike broke out in Amsterdam induced by a 'battue' on Jews.	In 'extermination camps', but where that was remains unclear in the text. In Westerbork trains left for 'the east'.

⁹⁴¹ *Horizonte III* 2007, 87.

⁹⁴² *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 229.

⁹⁴³ *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 117.

VadG 1993	After 1933 the persecutions of German Jews began: boycott, Nuremberg laws, Reichskristallnacht, etc. In 1942 mass gassings in Auschwitz began. In 1943 the Warsaw ghetto uprising took place. In 1943 Jews came under police law. In the Netherlands, anti-Jewish measures began in 1940.	In extermination camps, in Westerbork and in Auschwitz.
OW 1994	After 1933, life for Jews became 'increasingly uncomfortable'. The Nuremberg Laws and the <i>Reichskristallnacht</i> were in 1935 and 1938. In the Netherlands, Jews were dismissed in 1940 and forced to register in 1941. At the end of 1943 almost all Dutch Jews had been deported to 'German extermination camps'.	In the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam. In concentration camps like Mauthausen. In extermination camps like Auschwitz, Bełżec, Treblinka and Sobibór.
SP 1996	Especially after the 1935 Nuremberg Laws when 'discrimination of the Jews became official'.	Mauthausen gets a lot of attention. The 'most infamous camps' were all in Poland: Chełmno, Bełżec, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, Sobibór, Majdanek. Other camps were labor camps like Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald and Mauthausen.
PH 1998	Unclear: 'during WWII'. On 30 January 1939 Hitler claimed that the 'destruction of the Jewish race in Europe' would be the consequence of the war. In 1942 'one took the decision' to mass murder the Jews.	In ghettos and SS-death camps like Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibór, Majdanek, Chełmno. In Mauthausen. In Westerbork and 'in the east'.
SV 2000	Jews became increasingly isolated after April 1933 and the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. During the war the ' <i>Endlösung</i> ' started. What solution that was appeared after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.	In concentration camps, labor camps like Mauthausen and Natzweiler. In combined labor and extermination camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau (Oświęcim, Poland), and in camps for mass murder: Majdanek, Sobibór and Treblinka, all in Poland. In the Netherlands trains went to Westerbork (mentioned, not explained).
ME 2001	Antisemitism began with Hitler and the Third Reich. In 1935 the Nuremberg Laws were introduced. In November 1938 a wave of hatred against Jews spread during the <i>Kristallnacht</i> . During the German campaign in the Soviet Union the ' <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> ' was launched. In January 1942 at the Wannsee Conference the genocide was organized. In the Netherlands horrors started in 1940. In February 1941 Rauter deported 425 Jews to Mauthausen.	In pre-war concentration camps in Germany. The <i>Vernichtungslager</i> were in remote areas in Poland: Auschwitz, Bełżec, Treblinka, Madanek, Sobibór. In the <i>Durchgangslager</i> Westerbork and in Mauthausen.

ME 2004	The Nuremberg Laws in 1935 deprived the Jews form civil rights. In 1938 Kristallnacht; many Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps. In February 1941 425 Dutch Jews were sent to Mauthausen. After 20 January 1942 (Wannsee Conference) the Nazis executed the 'Endlösung der Judenfrage'. The first Dutch Jews were sent to Westerbork during the summer of 1942.	In the Soviet Union (<i>Einsatzgruppen</i>). In Auschwitz, Chełmno, Bełzec, Treblinka, Sobibór. In Westerbork and the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam (Anne Frank).
SV 2009	Racial politics began in 1933: the Final Solution began during the war, more specifically after the German invasion of the Soviet Union June in 1941. In the Netherlands all Jews were deported between 15 July 1942 and September 1943.	In extermination camps like Majdanek, Sobibór and Treblinka, and in extermination/labor camps like Auschwitz-Birkenau. In labor camps like Mauthausen and Natzweiler. Also in prisoners of war-camps and in Westerbork.

Although geographical information on the Holocaust becomes more specific over the years, most Dutch textbooks persist in superficiality: eight out of ten mention the camps Auschwitz, Sobibór, Treblinka and Westerbork, as well as Majdanek (six), Bełzec (five) and Chełmno (three), but none of them explain why these camps were located there. Some stress the remoteness of these locations, ignoring the infrastructural or economic benefits of these geographical venues. Maps are present in **SP 1996**, **ME 2001**, **ME 2004** and **SV 2009**, showing Nazi camps in Germany and Eastern Europe. Auschwitz-Birkenau, however, is – like in their German counterparts – present in almost every Dutch textbook (all but **BTE 1984**). Camps that are important for the Dutch context of the persecutions are represented in most of the textbooks: Mauthausen (the first concentration camp where Dutchmen were sent to and where over 1600 Dutch were murdered)⁹⁴⁴ is mentioned in six, transit camp Westerbork in eight out of ten textbooks. Five Dutch textbooks portray maps, mostly of concentration and extermination camps in Europe (**SP 1996**, **SV 2000**, **ME 2001**, **ME 2004** and **SV 2010**). Dutch camps are missing from the maps; Westerbork is only shown on the map in the last textbook.⁹⁴⁵

Design: headings, sources and illustrations

In this section, I will (briefly) deal with the chapter layout of the Holocaust in the textbooks, as well as with main didactical developments, especially the rise in use of primary sources and the use of new types of assignments as well as the increased employment of illustrations.

Most German textbooks deal with the Holocaust in chapters on National Socialism, basically covering the persecutions in Germany from 1933 until 1941. The so-called 'Final Solution' is mostly described in general chapters on WWII. None of the German textbooks have separate chapters on the Holocaust (although often separate paragraphs or sections). There seems to be a sharp distinction between the discriminatory events from 1933 until 1941 on one hand, and the mass murders of after 1941. The textbooks, however, leave the question whether the Holocaust can be seen as a directly related appearance or consequence of the war, or as a fulfillment of a Nazi antisemitic extermination policy, open.⁹⁴⁶ The chapters have titles as *Demokratie und*

⁹⁴⁴ <http://www.mauthausen.nl/> (last consulted 13-7-16).

⁹⁴⁵ *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 119.

⁹⁴⁶ See also Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 107.

Diktatur in Deutschland 1918-1945 (ZuM 1986), *Von Weltkrieg zu Weltkrieg – Europa in der Krise 1918-1945 (GR 1992)*, *Machtergreifung*, *„Gleichschaltung“ und NS-Herrschaft in Deutschland (HPW 1998)*, *Nationalsozialismus (ZuM 2006)*, *Die Zerstörung der Demokratie durch den Nationalsozialismus (ZuM 2006)* or *Das Nationalsozialistische Deutschland (H/G 2010)*, which seem to reflect the German textbooks' visions on the discontinuity of the National Socialist era in German contemporary history. The Holocaust is discussed either in paragraphs on the German occupation of Europe or in sections about the infrastructure of Nazi state terror.

Dutch textbooks suggest more continuity in German history, by covering the Holocaust in chapters with titles as *Germany, from peace to war (GvG 1981)*, *Germany (BTE 1984)*, *Why so much support for Nazism? (VaG 1993)*, *Germany's 'Sonderweg' (PH 1998)*, *Germany 1870-present (SV 2009)*. In five of the Dutch textbooks, the Holocaust is present in chapters on (the Netherlands during) WWII (**GvG 1981**, **BTE 1984**, **D 1994**, **ME 2001** and **ME 2004**). In **VaG (1993)**, **PH (1998)**, **SV (2000)** and **SV (2009)** the 'Final Solution' is covered in chapters about the history of Germany, either from 1870 until 1945 or from 1933 until 1945. The only exception is textbook **SP (1996)** which deals with the Holocaust through a separate chapter 4 ('A Train Journey to Mauthausen'). In this chapter students learn to critically think about how to analyze primary sources on Mauthausen, whether it is possible to 'imagine' what the situation in the camp was like, and how to deal with a 'contentious' past.⁹⁴⁷ National Socialism, WWII and the context of the Holocaust is very briefly described (two pages) in the historical overview.⁹⁴⁸

According to the authors of *Grundriß der Geschichte (GR 1992)*, the interpretation of sources is essential for students in the upper grades of secondary education. Sources, the textbook states, 'reveal that people have made choices while acting in their times, and that there were alternatives'.⁹⁴⁹ All German textbooks from this selection contain primary and secondary sources as well as exercises on the Holocaust. Dutch textbook (including the exercise book) **OW (1994)** does not provide any primary sources on the Holocaust. Most sources mainly consist of different kind of texts, photos, caricatures, illustrations, maps, graphics and statistics. Sometimes CD-ROMs are added with additional information and source material, after 2006/2007 links to supporting websites are included. In a next section I will analyze different kinds of illustrations on the Holocaust, the secondary sources are part of the general analysis of Holocaust rendition. In my opinion, like one of the textbooks has stated, through the use of primary sources students are not only being introduced to historical professionalism, but it also allows textbooks to offer multiple and even transnational perspectives.⁹⁵⁰

I have listed and categorized how many and which primary text sources the textbooks use in order to accomplish such historical reasoning or achieve multiple perspectives. In total, German textbooks in this selection use 98 primary sources, compared to 67 in the Dutch textbooks. In **HO (2007)** for instance, chapter 2 (*Der Nationalsozialismus*) contains 68 pages, of which 45 pages are exclusively filled with sources. These primary and secondary sources (as well as illustrations of all types) offer a multidimensional and multiple deepening of the main text, which mainly has an introductory character.⁹⁵¹ In **GR (1992)** students can use the sources to 'formulate

⁹⁴⁷ Sporen 1996, 70-93.

⁹⁴⁸ Sporen 1996, 222-225.

⁹⁴⁹ *Grundriß der Geschichte* II, 1992, preface.

⁹⁵⁰ *Histoire* 2010, 3.

⁹⁵¹ *Horizonte* III 2007, 40-115.

judgments', but there are no exercises. The majority of the assignments connected to the sources deals with reproduction and reorganization of knowledge; true reflection and problem solving (acquiring new insight on topics through combining new information) is seldom addressed directly. The exercises thus relate primarily to the explaining of facts or concepts and the merging or reproducing of what is read. A very problematic question in this context occurs in Dutch textbook **ME (2004)**, where students – after reading a number of sources on antisemitism - are asked 'where antisemitism in Germany eventually led to.'⁹⁵² A possible exception to this rule is offered in **HPW (1998)**, where students are asked to read fragments of *Mein Kampf* and of a psychological study on antisemitism and subsequently find 'hidden messages in the text'.⁹⁵³

As is shown from table 5.12, primary sources on the developments in German antisemitism are widely used in the textbooks from both countries, contextualizing increasing discrimination measures against the German Jews after the seizure of power by the Nazis in 1933. The German textbooks more specifically discuss sources with regard to the adoption of the Nuremberg Laws (4) and the 1938 Kristallnacht (6). Victim testimonies in the Dutch textbooks (including Anne Frank) are less frequent than in the German textbooks, but it must be said that twelve out of fourteen testimonies from survivors are from **ZuM (2006)** and **H/G (2010)**. That means that the victims were only statistically present in the early German textbooks. In the sources in the Dutch textbooks, victims get even less attention. Most sources there portray early antisemitism in Germany, Hitler's responsibility, acts of perpetration or Dutch resistance or protests against the persecutions. The victims that do occur in the sources appear in **SP (1996)**, which displays three testimonies by survivors of Mauthausen⁹⁵⁴, and in **ME (2004)** (the Anne Frank diary and a Westerbork survivor)⁹⁵⁵ and **SV (2009)** (the Anne Frank diary as well as references (on the support internet site *SV Digitaal*) to a broadcast of the Dutch history series *Andere Tijden* on 'Jewish War Orphans').⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵² *MeMo* EB 2004, 290-291.

⁹⁵³ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 178-179.

⁹⁵⁴ *Sporen* 1996, 77-83.

⁹⁵⁵ *MeMo* TB 2004, 216.

⁹⁵⁶ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 163.

Table 5.12: Most frequently presented topics in primary sources about antisemitism and the Holocaust in German and Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

German Textbooks (N=7)	Dutch Textbooks (N=10)
Antisemitism in Germany before the war (33)	Antisemitism in Germany before the war (13)
Testimonies of Victims or Survivors (14)	Testimonies of Victims or Survivors (8)
Statistics about Victims of Persecutions (13)	Hitler Speeches or Fragments from Mein Kampf (7)
Testimonies of Perpetrators (8)	Protests from Churches, Civilians or Media (7)
Einsatzgruppen (6)	Dutch Antisemitism/NSB (6)
Himmler in Posen (6)	Testimonies from Bystanders/Helpers (5)
Wannsee Conference (6)	February Strike (5)
Hitler Speeches or Fragments from Mein Kampf (4)	Testimonies of Perpetrators (4)

In the Dutch textbooks, over half of the primary sources (37 out of 67) deal with the national conditions of the occupation and the persecutions, overwhelmingly offering the perspective of the perpetrators or protests by Dutch churches, media and Leyden University. Dutch textbook **GvG (1981)** for instance offers an apologetic image of the Dutch churches in source nr. 6, called ‘a totally different attitude’. Dutch churches, in a letter to general Christiansen dated 15 July 1942, protested against Nazi measures against the Jews. The question that goes with the source seems to underline national concordance: ‘compare the attitude of the Dutch churches to that of the German and Italian churches. Can you explain the differences?’⁹⁵⁷ This assignment is not only historically dubious, but also makes one wonder how students, without any information about the ‘German and Italian churches’, were supposed to answer this question. In **BTE (1984)** there are twelve (primary and secondary) sources on the Netherlands during WWII: only one (an article in the legal newspaper *Telegraaf* from 17 May 1942) is about possible collaboration and Dutch involvement in the persecution of Jews.⁹⁵⁸ In **ME (2001)**, bystanders appear for the first time in primary sources. In this textbook, three sources deal with the accommodation of the Dutch population, not acting against the persecutions, and civil servants who collaborated with the Germans. General Rauter is quoted, who had claimed ‘that it would never have been possible to deport as many Jews without the cooperation of Dutch officials’.⁹⁵⁹ In only one other textbook (**ME 2004**) bystanders are present in primary sources.

The situation in Eastern Europe is hardly portrayed through primary sources in Dutch textbooks: only two documents are listed about the mass shootings by the *Einsatzgruppen*. In German textbooks this is different: they use far more sources on the mass shootings in Eastern Europe, mostly by citing perpetrators from the *Einsatzgruppen*. Also, the so-called Posen speeches made by Himmler in the town hall of Posen (Polish: *Poznań*), find their way to the German textbooks. Himmler gave these speeches in October 1943 before an audience of SS-officers and of – two days later – Nazi officials. He spoke of the ongoing executions of Soviet prisoners, forced laborers

⁹⁵⁷ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 140-143.

⁹⁵⁸ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 177-180.

⁹⁵⁹ *MeMo* EB 2001, 103.

and the ‘extermination of the Jews’. These secret speeches are sometimes interpreted as a means of including SS and Nazi functionaries as accomplices in the perpetration of the Holocaust.⁹⁶⁰ This set of speeches offers interesting information, since it is one of the few documents where a high placed Nazi official formally addresses the planned character of the persecutions. Sometimes, the Posen speech is added without any questions or assignments.⁹⁶¹ Students are asked to deconstruct the speech, for instance by judging the argumentative techniques Himmler uses in this address⁹⁶² or by determining what words that Himmler used in 1941 ‘are to be considered questionable in our days’.⁹⁶³ In **ZuM (2006)** Himmler’s Posen speech is to be analyzed in order to ‘establish how ideological blindness, historical contexts and propagandistic influencing interact in the formation of both human morality and criminal acts’.⁹⁶⁴

If one would establish a canon of iconic illustrations on the Holocaust in textbooks from both countries, our sample between 1980-2010 would provide the following table:

Table 5.13: Most frequently presented illustrations on antisemitism and the Holocaust in German and Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

German Textbooks (N=7)	Dutch Textbooks (N=10)
Camp Life (mainly prisoners in barracks) (10)	<i>Deutsche kauft nicht bei Juden</i> or other boycott measures 1933-1934 (12)
Auschwitz or Birkenau gates or photos from the Auschwitz Album of the arrival of Hungarian Jews in Birkenau (9)	Corpses or weakened bodies of camp inmates (10)
Maps of camps in Europe (9)	Camp Life (mainly prisoners in barracks) (8)
Antisemitic propaganda from magazines or children’s books (7)	Antisemitic propaganda from magazines or children’s books (7)
<i>Deutsche kauft nicht bei Juden</i> or other boycott measures 1933-1934 (7)	The Warsaw boy from the Stroop-report (7)
The Warsaw boy from the Stroop-report (7)	Pictures taken after the liberation of camps (mainly Buchenwald) (6)

As the overviews in tables 5.12 and 5.13 show, iconographical portrayal of the Holocaust in the investigated history textbooks is overwhelmingly done from the perspectives of the perpetrators. The victims are largely portrayed as defenseless, anonymous and helpless people. Ten of the 73 illustrations in Dutch textbooks even show piles of bodies, mostly from liberated concentration camps in Germany (Mittelbau-Dora, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald), most likely to bear witness to the enormity of the crimes that were committed. Although many educators would hesitate showing such gruesome and shocking photos to their students, the Dutch textbooks continue to use them in their coverage of WWII and the Holocaust (**A, B, D, E, G, H, I, J**). This tends to reinforce the

⁹⁶⁰ See Welzer, *Daders*, 236 and Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler – Biographie*, 710.

⁹⁶¹ *Grundriß der Geschichte II*, 1992, Dokumente, 177-178.

⁹⁶² *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 335-336.

⁹⁶³ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 179-180.

⁹⁶⁴ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 200.

association of the Holocaust with pictures of massacres, corpses, mass graves, at the same time obscuring what happened with imprisoned people in concentration camps. Confronted with such shocking visual images, students will find it difficult to relate to the fact that these bodies were once human beings. One example is the next illustration, from **ME (2004)**.



Figure 5.1. Caption: 'Mass grave with murdered Jews in concentration camp Bergen-Belsen' (Copyright © 2017 Yad Vashem. The World Holocaust Remembrance Center).⁹⁶⁵

The use of such images can never be self-evident, but has to be explained and documented, otherwise it might reinforce negative stereotypes and the perception of Jews as passive 'victims'. In German textbooks, most pictures are taken from the 1960 Gerhard Schoenberger's publication called *Der Gelbe Stern*, which offers a history of the Holocaust in 196 pictures.⁹⁶⁶ These pictures have strongly influenced textbook authors in West Germany.⁹⁶⁷ The vast majority of these photos have been made on instigation of the German authorities. The little boy in Warsaw (from the *Stroop Bericht*, see for more on this §4.7) as well as pictures from the so-called Auschwitz Album are included in *Der Gelbe Stern*. Most of the photos of the arrival of Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz were taken by a German SS photographer, probably on 17 May 1944.⁹⁶⁸ In fact, the only photos that have remained from Auschwitz that show transport, arrival and selection of Jews at the Birkenau platform, are the pictures taken by the SS during two months in the spring of 1944. This 'Auschwitz Album' was first published in 1980; it consists of fifty-six pages and contains 193 photos. The album was miraculously discovered by an Auschwitz survivor, the then eighteen year old Lily Jacob. As part of the Hungarian transport, she was later moved to Dora concentration camp, some six hundred miles from Auschwitz. There she found this photo album, from which she recognized her rabbi from Hungary. While turning the pages, she discovered that it also contained pictures of her, her family and her friends. Lily Jacob held on to the book until she decided to donate it to Yad Vashem in the 1980s. We do not know exactly who made these photos in Auschwitz, and

⁹⁶⁵ *MeMo* TB 2004, 274.

⁹⁶⁶ Schoenberger, *Der Gelbe Stern*.

⁹⁶⁷ Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 100-101.

⁹⁶⁸ http://collections.yadvashem.org/photosarchive/en-us/97836_34303.html (last consulted 4-7-16).

for what purposes.⁹⁶⁹ But we do know that we are looking through the lenses of the perpetrators. Furthermore, the Auschwitz photos derive from the year 1944, depicting the ultimate phase of the Holocaust. The railway track had only been constructed that year. These photos therefore do not represent the entire Holocaust, but only its last gruesome episode.⁹⁷⁰

The examined textbooks from both countries basically show similar illustrations: the boycott of Jewish stores and burning of synagogues in 1938, antisemitic pictures from *Der Stürmer* or *Die Ewige Jude*, Jews in camps, the little boy in Warsaw, or inmates behind barbed wire during the liberation of the camps. There is no information about the context of the pictures or the images, their function, use, application, reception or correlation with other pictures or texts in the book. This emphasizes lacking historical and didactical thoroughness. How can students evaluate and critically 'know' about the perspective of the perpetrators?⁹⁷¹ Using shocking Nazi images of death, dying, murder and dehumanization should be done within a pedagogical framework. Without that, it can be both emotionally disturbing for students and provide them the awesome perspective of the perpetrator. So the lack of attention to the victims of the Holocaust in the textbooks (as described in chapter 4), has changed somewhat in later years in terms of visual representation: they are more present in the textbooks, but still not personalized. Victimization of the Holocaust, therefore, remains largely connected to anonymous masses and statistics, not about individual people. Although textbooks have limited means to overcome this problem, a personalized approach to this history would be didactically rewarding in terms of historical thinking.⁹⁷² This might counterbalance the image students have of Jews (and others) as passive victims, and not as real people who had lives and families before they were killed.⁹⁷³

There are few exceptions which sometimes are problematic as well. The photo in figure 2 for instance shows victims of Nazi persecutions and is presented in **H/G (2010)** in a section on the 'first phase of the genocide of the Jews'. The photo displays a girl from L'viv (Lemberg in German, Lvov in Russian), who apparently became victim of violence during a pogrom that took place in that city between 30 June and 3 July 1941. The subscript states that 'after the Germans had taken over the city they encouraged groups of Ukrainian nationalists, who considered the Jews to be communist agents, into antisemitic cruelties'. Four thousand people died in this massacre. The question attached to this photo is: 'what benefits did the National Socialists have to allow Ukrainian nationalists to persecute the Jews?'⁹⁷⁴

⁹⁶⁹ More on the Auschwitz Album see Gutman and Gutterman, *The Auschwitz Album: The Story of a Transport*.

⁹⁷⁰ Sandkühler, 'Nach Stockholm', 70-71.

⁹⁷¹ Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 106

⁹⁷² See <https://www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-the-holocaust/general-teaching-guidelines#people> (last consulted 17-2-2017).

⁹⁷³ Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 29.

⁹⁷⁴ *Histoire* 2010, 332-333. In 1993, *Time Magazine* published the photo with the caption 'Jewish girl raped by Ukrainians in Lvov, Poland, in 1945'. An angry outcry by the Ukrainian community followed, and *Time Magazine* regretfully had to apologize for being inaccurate. The photo was not taken in 1945 but in 1941, and some scholars have claimed that the women in the photo were mistresses left alone after the retreat of the Soviets. They were then assaulted by revengeful inhabitants of the city. Even the Jewish origins of the women in the picture was questioned See Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 205-206.



Figure 5.2. Illustration from <https://iconicphotos.wordpress.com/2010/06/11/the-rape-of-lvov/> (last consulted 8-7-16).

Table 5.14 shows how many illustrations on the persecutions textbooks in both countries have represented, and with what images the textbooks mostly illustrate the process of discrimination, antisemitism, racism and genocide between 1933-1945. Table 5.15 shows the unmistakable increase in the use of illustrations in German and Dutch textbooks. I have classified all of the illustrations (73 in total) in fifteen categories, more or less in chronological order. Some comments on the categories:

- Boycott: mostly of Jewish economic life in Germany but also including Jews wearing yellow stars;
- Kristallnacht: burning synagogues and Jewish shops;
- Propaganda: mostly illustrations from *Der Stürmer* or children's books like *Der Giftpilz*;
- Deportations: actually showing people being moved from a camp or city to a train station;
- *Einsatzgruppen*: harassing or shooting of Jews and communists in eastern Europe;
- Ghetto: mostly photos from Warsaw, some are from Lodz;
- Camp Life: depicting life in the barracks or working conditions;
- Maps: mostly maps of Europe or 'Greater Germany', with concentration camps and death camps;
- Individual perpetrators: where a perpetrator is visibly at the centre of the image (e.g. Himmler visiting a camp);
- Individual victims: where the illustration is showing individual hardship or suffering;
- Auschwitz: mainly photos from the entrance gate of Auschwitz I or the 'Auschwitz Album': the arrival of Hungarian Jews during the summer of 1944;
- Camp liberation: mostly showing dead or severely weakened inmates after being liberated, some monuments too;
- Bodies: mass graves or German civilians burying corpses.

Table 5.14: Subjects of illustrations on antisemitism and Holocaust in German and Dutch history textbooks 1980-2010

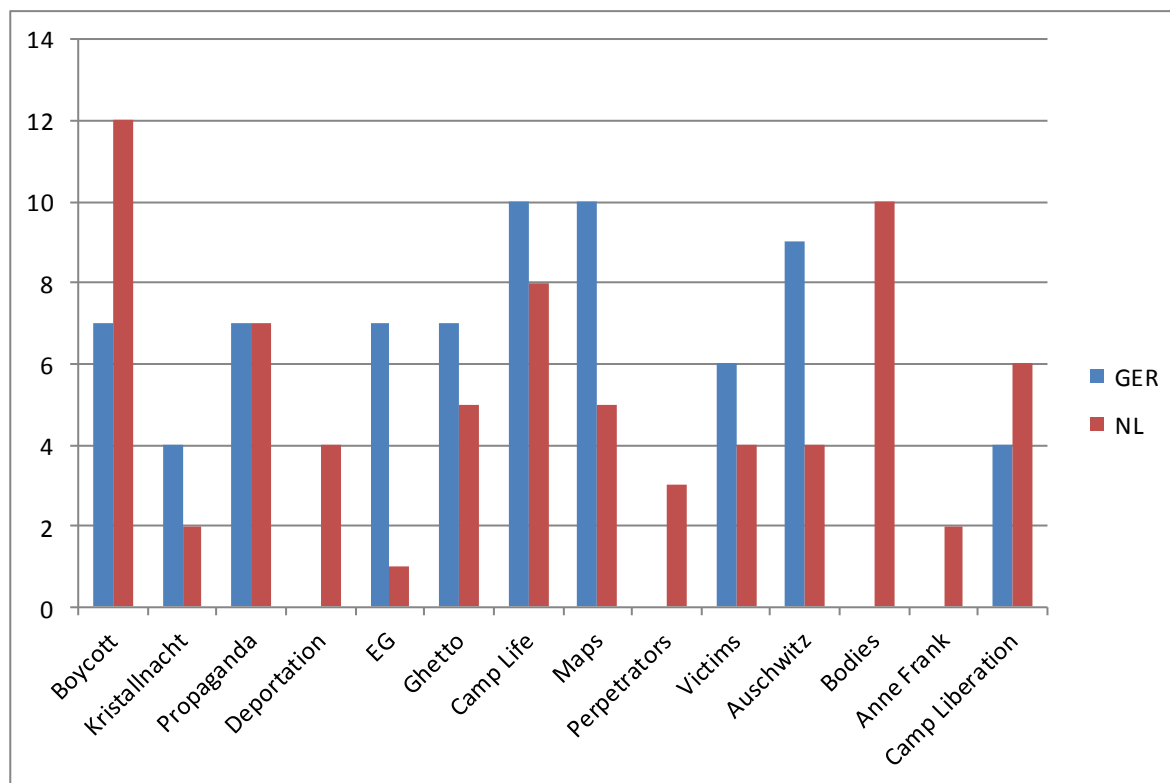
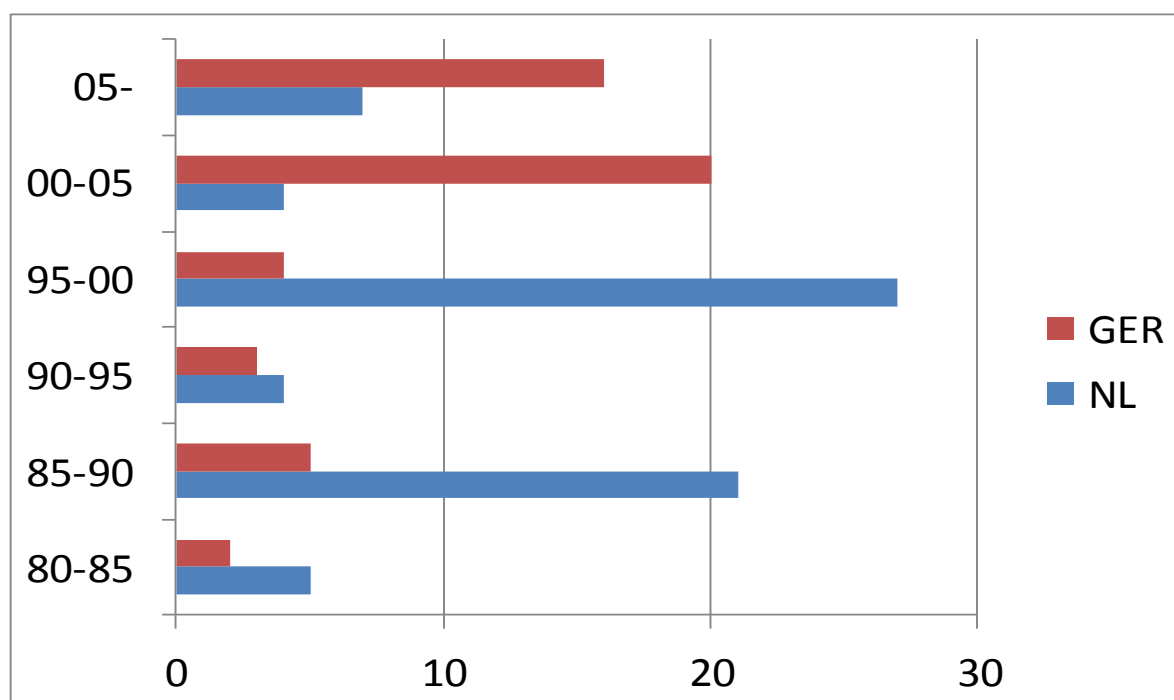


Table 5.15: Number of illustrations on antisemitism and Holocaust in German and Dutch history textbooks 1980-2010



There are some interesting conclusions to be drawn from this overview. Firstly, German textbooks do not visualize mass murder or depict dead bodies. By contrast, ten often gruesome illustrations of dead or wounded people are displayed in the Dutch textbooks. A possible explanation for this might be that Dutch textbooks attempt to explicate the relationship between Nazi Germany and the crimes committed in the camps, whereas this visualisation of perpetration would interfere with the 'normal' pedagogical arrangements in German textbooks. These pictures underline the brutal character of Nazi perpetrators, not the suffering of the (Jewish) victims. An example can be found in *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* (1988). Chapter 2 of this textbook ('Why so much support for Nazism?') is introduced by excerpts from an interview by the American psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton with Nazi doctors who 'helped the SS with the annihilation of the Jews'.⁹⁷⁵ One of them was Johann S: an 'intelligent, energetic and fanatical old man', whose life reflected the 'typical Nazi mixture of passionate nationalism and visionary biology'. What S. actually had done during the war cannot be deduced from the fragment, but he 'presents himself as a reasonable Nazi' and a 'biological idealist' who in retrospect believed that Nazi racial ideology had been wrong. Yet, the caption of the accompanying illustration (see figure 1) neglects this nuance completely and stresses the apparently morbid personality of Johann S. by combining his name with a mass grave from Nordhausen concentration camp (better known as *KZ Mittelbau-Dora*) showing his alleged complicity to these mass murders. To my knowledge, Johann S. never 'worked' in Nordhausen. Who the victims were is not transmitted.⁹⁷⁶



Figure 5.3. Caption: 'Mass Grave in concentration camp Nordhausen. Johann S. would not have wanted to miss out...' (Copyright © 2017 Yad Vashem. The World Holocaust Remembrance Center).⁹⁷⁷

Secondly, German textbooks do not show any pictures of individual perpetrators, whereas Dutch textbooks display at least some of the people that were involved in mass murder. Thirdly, Dutch textbooks visually 'neglect' the 'Holocaust by Bullets'. I have

⁹⁷⁵ Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors*.

⁹⁷⁶ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1988, 178-180

⁹⁷⁷ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1988, 178-179.

already stated that five textbooks narrowly mention the *Einsatzgruppen* in Eastern Europe, yet one finds no illustrations of this mass murder of over two million people. In the German textbooks seven illustrations of the *Einsatzgruppen* appear to support the main text (see for instance figure 4).



Figure 5.4. Caption: 'Mass murder in Ukraine, between June and September 1941. This picture was found in the uniform of a German soldier'.⁹⁷⁸ Illustration from <https://futuristrendcast.wordpress.com/category/ukraine/> (last consulted 7-7-16).

Fourth, only nine out of 73 illustrations (12,3%) presented in the Dutch textbooks specifically deal with the persecution of the Dutch Jews, mostly by showing Jews in or from Amsterdam or pictures from transit camp Westerbork. The other illustrations show Nazi perpetrators, discrimination measures and propaganda or the suffering of the victims. In Dutch textbooks, no Dutch sites are listed on any of the maps showing concentration camps. This seems to reflect the Dutch textbooks' general lack of focus on the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands. Anne Frank, for instance, is only portrayed in two of the textbooks.⁹⁷⁹ Finally, the German textbooks seem to 'use' the photos of the arrival of the Hungarian Jews in Birkenau in 1944 to illustrate the process of extermination. In the Dutch textbooks only four pictures from the 'Auschwitz Album' are shown.

Finally, Dutch textbooks begin using more illustrations of the Holocaust in the 1980s; in the later textbooks this suddenly declines. In Germany it is the opposite; later textbooks publish much more visual records (twenty in **HO 2007**, seventeen in **ZuM 2006**, fifteen in **H/G 2010**).

⁹⁷⁸ *Histoire* 2010, 332.

⁹⁷⁹ *Op weg naar 2000* TB 1994, 138 and *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 143.

Representation of the Holocaust in German and Dutch textbooks

Here, I will discuss some substantive aspects of Holocaust narratives in the textbooks. I will focus mostly on the actual description of the murder operations and the corresponding periodization in the textbooks. German textbooks are basically very thorough in describing the period preceding the Holocaust (see table 5.10). All textbooks in this sample describe how National Socialist racial ideology has led from a policy of discrimination, sanctioning and restriction of Jews in Germany to mass murder in different manifestations. How the transition from (sometimes brutal and excessive) antisemitism to mass murder and genocide came about, does not always become clear. Five out of seven textbooks (**GdG 1984**, **GR 1992**, **HPW 1998**, **HO 2006**, **H/G 2010**) include the 1938 'T-4-programm', herewith connecting the human destruction in the Third Reich to its racial ideology and the Nazi perversion of eugenic science. Textbook **GdG (1984)** for instance cites from a letter Hitler send to Philippe Bouhler, who was Chief of the Chancellery of the Führer as well as an *SS-Obergruppenführer* who was responsible for the *Aktion T4*. In the letter, Bouhler is summoned to 'expand the powers given to doctors so that these can mercifully end the lives of those who are terminally ill'.⁹⁸⁰ Obstruction of propagation by 'inferior races' as well as by others who socially 'misbehaved' (because of alcoholism, criminality or dilapidation) are covered in most (five) of the textbooks. Because National Socialists regarded these as 'genetically determined', they were subject to forced sterilization and killing of 'social misfits, handicapped and genetically ill people were consequences of these ideological premises.

All German textbooks describe how the process of mass murder took place: from the early days of the Russian campaign Jews were killed by special *Einsatzgruppen* (all textbooks) or through gassings in 'trucks (three out of seven, **ZuM 1986**, **ZuM 2006** and **H/G 2010**). All textbooks then describe how the Wannsee Conference hoped to solve the 'Jewish problem' by engaging the 'Final Solution': the systematic and industrial destruction of millions of people (in some textbooks the liquidation of the ghettos in Lodz or Warsaw is mentioned) in special extermination camps. Only twice (**ZuM 1986** and **H/G 2010**) the actual act of extermination receives more detailed information. For instance: 'after some experiments victims were killed in gas chambers through the poisonous gas 'Zyklon B', formerly used as a pesticide'.⁹⁸¹ The only textbook that specifically mentions 'Operation Reinhardt' or the 'Erntefest Massacre' is **H/G (2010)**.⁹⁸²

Yet it is not always clarified what historical momentum engendered the methodical nature of the persecutions (see table 5.16). In **GdG (1984)** it says that many Jews were fired or boycotted after the Nazi take-over in 1933, after which they were banned from cultural life and later imprisoned in concentration camps and tortured. Systematic persecutions, however, 'began in 1935 with the Nuremberg Laws, followed by the so-called *Reichskristallnacht* in 1938'. The turning point, the textbook seems to claim, was Hitler's address at the Reichstag in January 1939 where he announced the *Vernichtung der jüdischen Rasse in Europa* ('destruction of the Jewish race') in case of a war.⁹⁸³

⁹⁸⁰ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* TB 1984, 186-187.

⁹⁸¹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 225-229.

⁹⁸² *Histoire* 2010, 330 and 333. The 'Erntefest Massacre' ('Operation Harvest Festival') involved the mass shooting of more than 43,000 Jews in and around Majdanek on a single day in November 1943, marking the end of the 'Operation Reinhardt' (see Browning, *Ordinary Men* 135-142).

⁹⁸³ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* TB 1984, 172-173.

Table 5.16: Actual description of the murder operations in (West) German textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Killing Procedures	Most decisive period
GdG 1984	Mass shootings, gassing	1939
ZuM 1986	Mass shootings, gassing with Zyklon B	1942
GR 1992	Mass executions, gassing	1941
HPW 1998	Mass shootings, mass gassing	After the beginning of WWII
ZuM 2006	Mass executions, mass gassing	1941
HO 2007	Gassing in trucks through carbon monoxide, mass shootings, mass gassings	1941
H/G 2010	Mass shootings, injections, gassing through carbon monoxide and Zyklon B	June 1941

Textbook **ZuM (1986)** states that after three ‘waves of persecution’ (the first began in April 1933, mainly aimed against the economic existence of the Jews, the second came with the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, attempting to restrict political and social rights, and the third wave was aimed at the completion of economic, legal and social discrimination of the Jews in Germany and in the occupied territories and started with the *Reichskristallnacht*), a fourth phase began in 1942: the “*Endlösung*” der *Judenfrage*. Here the incentive apparently was the Wannsee Conference. The ‘hitherto used methods of mass killings (disguisedly called *Sonderbehandlung* by the Nazis) were not ‘effective’ enough’, so ‘therefore one established permanently installed gas chambers where the victims were killed with industrial poisonous gas’. According to the authors, Eichmann already had concrete plans for systematic destruction of all Jews in the occupied territories, ‘probably dating back to a possible order given by Hitler in July 1941’.⁹⁸⁴ In **GR (1992)** the *Lebensraumideologie* and the racial policies of National Socialism were supposed to be realized after the beginning of WWII. Hitler wanted to put into effect the ‘*Vernichtung*’ of international Jewry to make Europe *judenfrei* (‘free of Jews’). ‘That meant death by gassing and burning of corpses’.⁹⁸⁵ Also in **HPW (1998)** it is stated that ‘after the beginning of WWII, things changed dramatically’. Now the anti-Jewish measures were ‘no longer aimed at expulsion, but at extermination’.⁹⁸⁶

Textbook **HO (2007)** beliefs that there is ‘no written order by Hitler in relation to the systematic destruction of Jews, Sinti and Roma’. National Socialist leaders have taken this decision ‘in the second half of 1941, probably after the invasion of the Soviet Union’. At the Wannsee Conference it was ‘not decided to execute the so called *Endlösung*; the destruction of Jews was already taking place’.⁹⁸⁷ **ZuM (2006)** also sets out the ‘implementation of the insane idea of systematic extermination of an entire people’ in the spring of 1942 with the Wannsee Conference. There, ‘the killing procedures ... that had happened so far were classified as ‘ineffective’ and it was decided that mass extermination camps were to be erected’.⁹⁸⁸ Finally, textbook **H/G (2010)** is the most elaborate on an eventual tipping point. It says that although Hitler had ‘predicted’ in January 1933 that a ‘new war would lead to the *Vernichtung der jüdischen Rasse* in

⁹⁸⁴ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 225-229.

⁹⁸⁵ *Grundriß der Geschichte* II, 1992, 340-341.

⁹⁸⁶ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 173-174.

⁹⁸⁷ *Horizonte* III 2007, 86-87.

⁹⁸⁸ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 128-129.

Europe', up to 1941, however, 'no genocide had been planned'. The 'Shoah' was not arranged beforehand; 'it developed from the radicalization of actions pursued from June 1941 onwards in the *Vernichtungskrieg* ('war of destruction') against the Soviet Union'. In September 1941 33,771 Jews from Kiev were shot at Babi Yar: 'that is when the extermination of the Jews began, initially however limited to Soviet Jews'. Only when the Blitzkrieg failed in the autumn of 1941, the initial plan of deporting Polish Jews to the east could not be fulfilled. 'Probably Hitler and his executives then decided to wipe out the entire Jewish population in Europe'.⁹⁸⁹

The role of the Wehrmacht or other 'ordinary men', however, is more or less denied or neglected, especially in the early textbooks. Taken into consideration that Browning's publication did appear in 1992, most textbooks from this sample still attribute to the 'myth of the innocent Wehrmacht'. In **GdG (1984)** for instance, in a paragraph which is called *Verfolgung und Widerstand* ('persecution and resistance'), it is stated that 'the Nazis did terrible things behind the backs of the fighting soldiers' (*Furchtbar waren die Greuel, die nationalsozialistischen Organisationen in den von Deutschland besetzten Ländern hinter den Rücken der kämpfenden Front verübten*). In **ZuM (1986)** it is believed that when *SS-Einsatzkommandos* started mass shootings 'behind the German army lines' these 'triggered unrest especially among the Wehrmacht'. 'One therefore developed *verfeinerte* ('more refined') methods of mass murder' by killing the Jews through engine gasses in *Gaswagen*.⁹⁹⁰ It is even suggested in **GdG (1984)** that these atrocities spoiled the hopes and expectations of the population of Eastern Europe, since they had initially 'welcomed the Germans because they believed to become liberated from bolshevism'. They were deceived by 'Himmler's commissioners and police forces' who treated Poles and Russians as slaves, according to the 'ideology of the master race'.⁹⁹¹ Textbook (**GR 1992**) states that the SS 'formed special *Einsatzgruppen* who 'believed to be elite troops in the racial and ideological war'. In France 'the Wehrmacht resisted the independent actions of these *Einsatzgruppen*, in Poland and the Soviet Union they were hardly hindered'.⁹⁹² Also, it is somewhat apologetically believed in the same textbook that crimes committed by German Wehrmachtsoldiers against the Russian population were not subject to legal prosecution 'because of an order issued during the war (*Gerichtsbareitserserlaß*)'⁹⁹³ 'which entitled officers to shoot *tatverdächtige Elemente* ('suspicious elements') or to use 'collective force' (*Gewaltsmaßnahmen*). Nevertheless, the textbook states, the fate of many German soldiers was sealed by an 'inhuman attitude', as they were taken by the Soviets as prisoners of war. And what the National Socialists 'had done with regard to the expulsion of people, Stalin did to the 'Wolgadeutschen'.⁹⁹⁴

In later textbooks, the controversial issue of crimes committed by members of the *Wehrmacht* receive some more attention. **HO (2007)** claims that the mass shootings was

⁹⁸⁹ *Histoire* 2010, 330-334.

⁹⁹⁰ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 227-229.

⁹⁹¹ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* TB 1984, 186-187.

⁹⁹² *Grundriß der Geschichte* II, 1992, 340.

⁹⁹³ This probably refers to the 'Gerichtsbareitserserlaß Barbarossa', the code name (dated May 1941) for the German strategy during the campaign against the Soviet Union to 'eliminate all enemy civilians, their families and their entourage'. It was explicitly forbidden to take prisoners, comparable to the so-called *Kommissarbefehl* or 'Guidelines for the Treatment of Political Commissars' of June 1941, which instructed Wehrmacht soldiers to execute enemy soldiers (see Kershaw, *Hitler, de Duitsers en de Holocaust*, 252 and <http://www.bpb.de/geschichte/nationalsozialismus/weisse-rose/61055/justiz-im-dritten-reich?p=all> (last consulted 29-7-16)).

⁹⁹⁴ *Grundriß der Geschichte* II 1992, 341.

done 'by SS-units and also by Wehrmacht-units behind the fronts'.⁹⁹⁵ Textbook **ZuM (2006)** dedicates a special section on 'The Wehrmacht in the War of Destruction 1941-1944 – Crimes, Motives and Margins for Maneuver'. It is stated that units of the *Waffen-SS* 'together with regular *Wehrmacht* soldiers' executed Jews. To what extent the *Wehrmacht* participated in the German crimes during the occupation, however, 'is disputed until today'.⁹⁹⁶ Soldiers of the Wehrmacht – different from allied soldiers – were confronted with a severe dilemma: how could one remain a 'correct' soldier in a 'fundamentally criminal war'? In the original text it says:

Das Verhalten der deutschen Soldaten in den vom nationalsozialistischen Deutschland eroberten Gebieten beinhaltete allerdings eine besondere Problematik, die im Mittelpunkt dieses Themas steht. Vor dem Hintergrund der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie handelte es sich – insbesondere in Osteuropa – um einen "doppelten Krieg": einerseits um einen "klassischen" Eroberungskrieg, andererseits um einen rassistischen Ausrottungskrieg, mit dessen Hilfe "neuer Lebensraum" für die "arische Rasse" gewonnen werden sollte. Damit standen die Soldaten der Wehrmacht – anders als die Soldaten der Alliierten – in einem tiefgreifenden Dilemma: Konnte es ein "richtiges" soldatisches Verhalten in einem schon im Grundansatz verbrecherischen Krieg geben?⁹⁹⁷

'However, the behavior of the German soldiers in the territories conquered by Nazi Germany contained a particular problem, which is at the center of this theme. Against the backdrop of the Nazi ideology, a "double war" was taking place - especially in Eastern Europe: a "classic" conquest of war on the one hand, on the other hand a racist extermination war through which "new living space" was to be won for the "Aryan race" should. Thus the soldiers of the Wehrmacht - unlike the Allied soldiers - were in a profound dilemma: could there be a "true" soldierlike behavior in a war that was already criminal in its basic approach?'

In the first years after the war, there was a tendency to attribute the criminal aspects of German occupation policy to the SS, and to acquit the Wehrmacht from all blame. An example is a text from **HO (2007)**, where it is said that the SS executed the 'Final Solution' and that the National Socialists tried to hide the crimes from the German public:

Die "Endlösung der Judenfrage" wurde unter dem Siegel einer "Geheimen Reichssache" von der SS exekutiert. Ihr fielen zwischen fünf und sechs Millionen Juden zum Opfer. Obgleich die Judenvernichtung die verbrecherische Konsequenz des kompromislosen Antisemitismus war, versuchte die NS-Führung dennoch, dieses Geschehen von der deutschen Öffentlichkeit geheim zu halten. Begriffe wie "Evakuierung", "Sonderbehandlung" und "Arbeitseinsatz im Osten" dienten dazu, das grausige Geschehen zu tarnen.⁹⁹⁸

"The "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" was executed by the SS under the seal of a "Secret Reichssache". Between five and six million Jews became victims of this policy. Although the extermination of the Jews was the criminal consequence of uncompromising antisemitism, the Nazi leadership nevertheless tried to keep this event secret from the German public. Terms such as "evacuation", "special treatment", and "working mission in the East" served to camouflage the horrible events'.

⁹⁹⁵ *Horizonte III* 2007, 86-87.

⁹⁹⁶ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 182.

⁹⁹⁷ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 182-187.

⁹⁹⁸ *Horizonte III* 2007, 86.

‘Today’, the textbook continues, it is ‘well known that such a line cannot be drawn’. Then it refers to the question of the controversy of *Wehrmacht* responsibility, as was shown at the exhibition *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht – Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941-1944*.⁹⁹⁹ It states that there seems to be consensus on two things: first of all one has to distinguish between the *Wehrmacht* command - who had already been involved in criminal offences before 1939 - and between the motives, attitudes and acts of ‘simple’ soldiers. Secondly, when it comes to evaluating matters of personal guilt, ‘one always has to differentiate concrete events’. The *Wehrmacht* ‘indisputably took part in the German crimes; how is that to be judged’? Did the individual soldier ‘have room to maneuver’? ‘Could he have disobeyed orders, was he individually responsible for his acts’?

In fourteen sources on the events in Eastern Europe students have to assess ‘what choices individual soldiers could make’ (texts follow from *Wehrmacht* commanders, from soldier’s testimonies and verdicts from trials, as well as from fragments from Hans-Ulrich Wehler’s address at the opening of the exhibition, on 27 January 2002’.¹⁰⁰⁰ In *H/G (2010)* it is stated that the ‘Erntefest’-massacre partly was committed by men from Police Battalion 101.¹⁰⁰¹ Furthermore, the textbook states that the photo below (see figure 5), depicting the execution of thirty-three Serbian civilians (in retaliation for an assassination of an SS-soldier in April 1941), ‘shows that not only the SS was responsible for murder and maltreatments of the civilian population in Eastern and Southeastern Europe’.¹⁰⁰²

⁹⁹⁹ The exhibition was organized by the *Insitut für Sozialforschung* and opened in 1995, initially in Hamburg. In the following four years the exhibition was visited by more than 800,000 visitors in 33 cities. After being criticized for depicting factual mistakes, the exhibition was closed and reopened a year later in a new version: www.verbrechen-der-wehrmacht.de) (last consulted 18-12-2014).

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 182.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Histoire* 2010, 333.

¹⁰⁰² *Histoire* 2010, 321.



Figure 5.5. Caption: 'A terrorized population - mass executions in Yugoslavia'. Illustration from <http://www.dhm.de/lemo/rueckblick/pancevo-1941-hinrichtung-oder-mord.html> (last consulted 29-7-16).

Whilst all but one German textbook indicate that the most decisive moment in the history of the Holocaust was (June) 1941 (see table 5.12), the Dutch textbooks vary a lot on this, being largely indistinct and wavering between the Nuremberg Laws or the *Kristallnacht* (two textbooks), the Wannsee Conference (five textbooks) or the attack on the Soviet Union (two textbooks). The 'Holocaust by Bullets' is sometimes mentioned yet described only very briefly. Only five textbooks from this sample mention the mass shootings by the *Einsatzgruppen*, but without explaining the historical context of these events (like roots of antisemitism in Eastern Europe, the ghetto's in Poland, *Aktion Reinhardt*, the *Nazi Lebensraumpolitik* or relations between 'ordinary' Wehrmacht soldiers and SS-men). When mentioned at all, these mass shootings seemed to have been a kind of experiment and not the actual beginning of the Holocaust. Who the perpetrators or victims were, or how they felt and what they experienced is hardly included in the textbooks. Instead, stereotypical descriptions of events and main perpetrators are portrayed: e.g. Himmler ('the headmaster dressed in the uniform of the Reichsführer') and 'his most important henchman Richard Heydrich' [sic: his name was *Reinhardt*, MvB], and the Holocaust as a 'logical outcome of the reared racial delusions' of the SS.¹⁰⁰³ Other victims are mentioned, but again not contextualized at all.

The relation with WWII is consequently lacking; most of the textbooks seem to suggest (like the following example from **GvG 1981**) that from the beginning of their reign over Germany National Socialist rulers were aiming at exterminating the Jews, in 'whom they saw their mortal enemy'. Through propaganda they 'had to convince the

¹⁰⁰³ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 44.

German people that the 'Jewish problem' could only be solved by extermination'. The Nuremberg Laws and the *Reichskristallnacht* were 'sinister preludes of what was about to come'. War provided a stage opportunity for Hitler, who believed that his plans for the 'Endlösung der Judenfrage' could be intensified in a 'total war'. The textbook continues in offering a logical continuity from executions by the *Einsatzgruppen* to the Wannsee Conference and 'special' *Vernichtungslager* [my italics], constructed in remote areas in Poland. In October 1944 Himmler ('the *Endlösung* fell under the SS') ordered to stop the gassings because surviving 'Jews might be useful in negotiations'.¹⁰⁰⁴

In five out of ten Dutch textbooks, very little and non-precise information is given about the killing procedures during 'the years of extermination' (see table 5.17). Sometimes the information verges on incorrectness: 'in POW-camps half of almost six million Soviet POW's perished'.¹⁰⁰⁵ Consequently, students do not obtain any specifics about how the genocide took place, or through what methods the victims were murdered. In **B, C, D, E** and **F** there is almost nothing mentioned about the extermination process itself: the textbooks do not even remotely relate to the process of cumulative radicalization of Nazi racial policy, adhering to very general notions about 'extermination', 'killings' or 'mass murder'. Here, the textbooks refer to impersonal focalizers, neglecting the relationship between acts of perpetration and the identity of the perpetrators. Through the external focalization in these texts the story is told by an anonymous commentator who reveals the historical narrative from an objective distance.¹⁰⁰⁶ Some examples:

'Especially during the war **one** acted beyond imagination against Jews, gypsies, **people** from Poland and the Soviet Union and other populations. Many millions of people **were** sent to extermination camps. Deliberately and systematically **one** tried to eradicate especially Jewish and gypsy populations of the occupied zones and Germany. Genocide on this scale is unparalleled in history.'¹⁰⁰⁷

And:

'In all occupied territories **the Germans** executed their racial laws. Jews and gypsies became outlaws and were banned from society. **Few** supported them. Finally, after being rounded up in ghetto's, cattle wagons brought them to SS-death camps, of which Auschwitz has the most sinister sound. In 1942 **one** had taken the decision to execute this mass murder, the 'Endlösung der Judenfrage'. Later, **survivors** called this drama the Holocaust. **Nobody** helped the persecuted Jews; not even the Allies, although there were clear clues that a genocide or mass murder was taking place. **Others** too, like resistance fighters and political opponents risked deportation to concentration camps or execution'.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 118-120.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 34.

¹⁰⁰⁶ See Bal, *Narratology*, 146-156.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 171.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Pharos* HO 1998, 72.

Table 5.17: Actual description of the murder operations in Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Killing Procedures	Most decisive period in Germany/the Netherlands
GvG 1981	Mass executions, carbon monoxide, mass gassings through Zyklon B	January 1942/February 1941
BTE 1984	Extermination	9 November 1938/February 1941
VadG 1993	Killed in gas chambers	1942/1940
OW 1994	Beastly murders	1935/end of 1943
SP 1996	Killing large numbers of people in gas chambers	1943/1942-1945
PH 1998	Mass murder	1942/summer of 1942
SV 2000	Executions, gassing	June 1941/February 1941
ME 2001	Mass executions, carbon monoxide, mass gassing through Zyklon B	January 1942/February 1941
ME 2004	Mass executions, mass gassing through Zyklon B	20 January 1942/summer 1942
SV 2009	Mass shootings, gassing	June 1941/May 1942

In **BTE (1984)** there is a passage on ‘Persecution of the Jews’ in paragraph 6.1 (‘Germany’). It says that Jews initially were the object of ridicule, but soon serious discrimination, maltreatments and persecution took place. The *Reichskristallnacht* in 1938 was the ‘first national demonstration of persecution of Jews on a large scale’. The ‘last stadium was *extermination*’. This happened not only to German Jews, but also to millions of Jews (and gypsies) from territories that were occupied by the Germans.¹⁰⁰⁹

Textbook **VaG (1993)** describes in chapter 6: *Why so much support for Nazism?* that once Hitler and the NSDAP finally obtained absolute power in Germany, they had the chance to execute their antisemitic program. This program, which eventually amounted to the attempt to fully exterminate the Jews, was supported by the following thoughts (large antisemitic fragments from *Mein Kampf* follow). Antisemitism was the fundamental principle of thought of the Nazis. Jews had to be driven from Europe by the Aryan race that had definitely gained its superiority.¹⁰¹⁰ Students, however, cannot derive from the text what actually happened; there is a series of measures (in Germany), in 1942 all of a sudden mass gassings begin in Auschwitz? Why, how, by whom remains unclear.¹⁰¹¹

In **OW (1994)** there is hardly a sentence on the Holocaust: In chapter 11 (‘World War Two’) § 11.4 is called ‘human aspects of the war’. Here the authors state that some readers of books on WWII might get the impression that wars are about tactical maneuvers, about generals taking decisions or about exciting political and military events. ‘Behind any military victory’, according to the textbook, ‘there is a lot of suffering’. Losses can be ‘big’ or ‘little’, it is difficult to ‘realize that even the slightest losses are enormous: one soldier killed probably means a lot more to his family than one lost battle for a general’. Some groups suffered more than others. In the ‘extermination camps for Jews’, for instance Auschwitz, Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibór, ‘and in the infamous quarries in Mauthausen’, one of the ‘biggest massacres in history’ took place. Through Hitler’s ‘*Endlösung der Judenfrage*’ some Nazis were to such an extent induced to ‘beastly killings on Jewish fellow citizens that one can hardly imagine its scope’. Not

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 95.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1989, 192-193.

¹⁰¹¹ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1989, 193-196.

only Jews were seen as a danger to the German nature and culture by Hitler and his partners in crime. Also gypsies, homosexuals, freemasons and Jehovah's witnesses were massively persecuted. To protect the German race from bad influences, physically and mentally incurably ill people were killed by tens of thousands.¹⁰¹²

According to **SP (1996)** one of the most important events during WWII was the German attempt to completely exterminate the Jews. In Germany first and later in the occupied territories, restrictive measures were imposed upon Jews. Next, Jews were massively being deported to extermination camps. These were constructed 'solely for murdering people as efficiently as possible'. In a camp like Auschwitz one used gas chambers, where a large number of people could be killed. Approximately six million Jews have become the victims of the efficient and rapid German destruction machine.¹⁰¹³ The 'totalitarian suppressors used concentration camps eagerly', and because these 'became so numerous, Heydrich categorized them'. The most 'infamous camps were all in Poland and were only intended for the 'Endlösung': the destruction of the entire Jewish people'. In this category there were camps like Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka and Sobibór. The other camps were work-camps where prisoners had to perform forced labor, often until their death. These were camps like Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald and Mauthausen.¹⁰¹⁴

Textbook **ME (2004)** states that Nazi racial doctrine has led to the biggest crime in the history of mankind: the organized destruction of over five million Jewish lives.¹⁰¹⁵ Strangely enough, the 'Persecution of the Jews' is treated in chapter 11 ('The Second World War and the Cold War'), paragraph 1.3 ('The Netherlands Occupied'). It switches from the Dutch situation to the occupied territories where the Jewish population was driven together in ghettos. In the Soviet Union Jews were executed massively by special 'Einsatzgruppen' who operated behind the front. At the Wannsee Conference the Nazis 'decided to solve the 'Endlösung der Judenfrage' and pursue the Jews systematically': they were put into camps, put to slave labor for the German industry and finally killed in special extermination camps through the gas Zyklon B, originally meant for vermin. The camps Auschwitz, Chełmno, Bełżec, Sobibór and Treblinka were 'in fact a kind of factories to kill people efficiently and invisibly from the outside world'.¹⁰¹⁶

In **ME (2001)** in a chapter on WWII, a separate paragraph is dedicated to *the mass murder on the Jews*. During the German invasion of the Soviet Union, special SS-*Einsatzgruppen* massively executed Jews – men, women and children. Why approximately one million people were slaughtered in this way, however, remains unclear. In January 1942 a small group of higher Nazis assembled at the Wannsee, near Berlin. Head of the Gestapo Heydrich 'announced there that the total extermination of the Jews had been decided', the organization of which was entrusted to Adolf Eichmann. This *Endlösung* would take place in special *Vernichtungslager*. Before the war there were concentration camps in Germany, where opponents were to be 'reeducated' (Jews, socialists, communists, gypsies, homosexuals, etc.). The *Vernichtungslager* 'were built in remote areas in Poland: Auschwitz, Bełżec, Treblinka, Majdanek, Sobibór – each camp was hell on earth'.¹⁰¹⁷ How that 'hell' looked like was made explicit:

¹⁰¹² *Op weg naar 2000* 1994 TB, 155-157.

¹⁰¹³ *Sporen* 1996, 223-225.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Sporen* 1996, 76.

¹⁰¹⁵ *MeMo* TB 2004, 254.

¹⁰¹⁶ *MeMo* TB 2004, 275.

¹⁰¹⁷ *MeMo* TB 2001, 187-188.

*'The victims were gathered in large rooms, supposedly for a shower. In a concealing manner, a gas chamber was called Wasch- und Desinfektionsraum. When the victims were gassed, other prisoners had to remove the gold teeth. Bones were used for the production of fertilizers. Later, when the bodies were burnt, ashes were used as fertilizers. In total during WWII between five and six million Jews were murdered.'*¹⁰¹⁸

There are only two Dutch textbooks that explicitly explain the Holocaust within the context of WWII. **SV (2000)** offers a classification of Nazi camps: because so many political opponents were arrested in March 1933, and prisons were becoming too small, prisoners were moved to 'remote areas by the SA and SS who built concentration camps....during the war new camps were erected':

- Camps that were built to kill as many as Jews and gypsies possible by sending them to the gas chambers; the most notorious being Majdanek, Sobibór and Treblinka (all in Poland);
- Camps that were both extermination and labor camp; the most notorious camp is Auschwitz-Birkenau (Oswiecim, Poland), where over two million people were murdered) ;
- Camps that were there to let prisoners work until they died; the most notorious were Mauthausen (Austria) and Natzweiler (France);
- Prisoners of war camps; especially the camps for Russian prisoners looked a lot like the extermination camps; over half of the almost six million Russian prisoners of war died in these camps.¹⁰¹⁹

'During the war', the textbook claims, 'the 'Endlösung' started and after the conquest of Poland two million Jews entered the Reich'. It became clear that 'emigration could no longer be the solution of the 'Jewish matter''. Ordered by Hitler and Himmler, special SS *Einsatzgruppen* shot 'all' communist officials, gypsies and Jews. Over a million people thus were executed. But 'because the shooting of millions of Jews in Germany, Poland and the other occupied territories proved to be circuitous, the SS proceeded to another method: gassing'. In Poland a number of extermination camps were erected and equipped with gas chambers. Following a 'premeditated SS plan', as many Jews and Gypsies as possible were transported by freight trains to the camps in Poland. In most of these camps the prisoners were moved directly towards the gas chambers. In the largest camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau, a selection took place performed by an SS-doctor. Children and senior citizens always had to go directly to the gas chambers. Who could work, could stay for the mean time and worked in a neighboring chemical plant. How many Jews were murdered during WWII cannot be determined accurately. Only of the Jews coming from Western Europe accurate numbers are known. In total between five and six million Jews were murdered. Estimations on the number of Gypsies killed range (from 40,000 to 213.000) through inadequate registration in Eastern Europe.¹⁰²⁰

In **SV (2009)** the Holocaust is being described in chapter 8: *Germany 1870-present*. After the outbreak of the war, racial policies were aimed at the Jewish

¹⁰¹⁸ *MeMo TB 2001*, 188.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Sprekend Verleden 2000*, 33-34.

¹⁰²⁰ *Sprekend Verleden 2000*, 34-36.

population in the occupied countries. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, the *Endlösung* was commissioned by Hitler and Himmler. Special *Einsatzgruppen* of the SS shot 'all' communist functionaries, gypsies and Jews in the conquered Russian zones. Over a million people were executed in this way. Because shooting of the millions of Jews in Germany, Poland and the other occupied territories 'proved to be too circuitous', the SS proceeded to a different method: gassing. In Poland, a number of extermination camps were erected.¹⁰²¹

Dutch textbooks and the persecutions in the Netherlands

As demonstrated in table 5.9, Dutch textbooks in average spend only a few lines on the persecutions in the Netherlands. They therefore provide students with very little information about life, discrimination, ghettoization and deportation of the Jews in the Netherlands. Only four textbooks record the correct number of victims, two estimate that some 90-95,000 Jews died, four textbooks do not give any (precise) information at all. The response to the first persecutions through the February Strike in 1941 (four textbooks) or the events during the summer of 1942, when the first deportations to Westerbork took place (four textbooks) are considered to turning points in the history of anti-Jewish measures during WWII in the Netherlands (see table 5.17).

As Boersema & Schimmel already have demonstrated, some Dutch textbooks differ on basic facts like the origins of the February Strike in 1941 in Amsterdam.¹⁰²² Increasing antisemitic measures led to a riot where a member of the Dutch fascist party died and a German patrol was attacked. The German head of police in the Netherlands, general Rauter, responded with a raid. In the capital, 425 Jews were caught and transported to Mauthausen; the first death transport had begun. The Communist Party then called for a strike, which would become the first massive resistance act in the Netherlands during WWII. Distorting cause and effect, *MeMo* (2004) claims that the strike was met by repercussion-measures sending 425 Jews to Mauthausen:

'Eventually the Amsterdam population delivered a clear sign. The February strike in 1941 was an open protest against the way Jews were being treated. The Dokwerker statue in Amsterdam reminds us of that episode. The German reaction was cruel: 425 young Jewish men were rounded up in a raid and brought to concentration camp Mauthausen.'¹⁰²³

In **GvG (1981)** persecutions began in February 1941 when the first Jews were caught and deported. The February Strike did not help the Jews; they were forced to wear the Star of David, their freedom of movement was limited, and they were assembled in the Amsterdam ghetto. And from there they were deported in the years 1942 and 1943, first to transit camp Westerbork, then to 'the hell of Auschwitz or Sobibór'. Of the 140,000 Jews in the Netherlands 'the Germans killed 104,000...'.¹⁰²⁴

In **BTE (1984)** some five sentences are dedicated to anti-Jewish measures: civil servants *had* to sign the *Arierverklaring*, through numerous measures Jews were increasingly isolated from other Dutchmen, and the compulsive wearing of the yellow Star of David completed this process of isolation. In 1941 the February Strike broke out; induced by a raid on Jews.¹⁰²⁵ No further information is given on the result of this raid;

¹⁰²¹ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 143.

¹⁰²² Boersema & Schimmel, 'Choices And Empathetic Capacity', 60.

¹⁰²³ *MeMo* TB 2004, 274.

¹⁰²⁴ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 133.

¹⁰²⁵ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 172.

no numbers, no deportations, no Westerbork, no death camps.¹⁰²⁶ **VaG (1993)** states that ‘practically every Jew’ had to report in order to undergo ‘employment duties’. This ‘meant deportation to transit camp Westerbork from where the Jews were brought to German extermination camps’. Most Dutch Jews were killed in Auschwitz in the gas chambers; ‘of approximately 150,000 Dutch Jews, some 90,000 perished’.¹⁰²⁷

Textbook **OW (1994)** dedicates twenty-four lines to the persecution of the Dutch Jews, half of which deal with protests against these raids. When Jews were required to move to the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam, ‘the Germans could easily check them and execute their measures’. At the end of 1943 the largest part of the Dutch Jews were transported to the ‘German extermination camps’. Of the approximately hundred thousand Jews that were deported from the Netherlands ‘around 5,000 returned’.¹⁰²⁸

In **SP (1996)** chapter 4 is called ‘A Train Journey to Mauthausen’. The factual situation in the Netherlands during WWII is totally absent from the textbook. That in itself is strange, because the chapter is entirely dedicated to the real story of a group of Dutch students from ten different schools, who visit former concentration camp Mauthausen together with their teachers and representatives from the *Stichting Samenwerkend Verzet 1940-1945*. This ‘Joint Resistance Foundation 1940-1945’ was founded with the aim to preserve the ‘spiritual values of the former resistance movement and passing those values on to young people’.¹⁰²⁹ Two students, Evelien and Maaïke, held a diary, which is partly portrayed in the textbook: ‘twice a year the Foundation organizes travels to former concentration camps. Former resistance fighters provide information for schools. Mr. Boerma is one of them; he believes that the facts should not get lost, young people should stay aware of the dangers a war brings, especially the loss of liberty’. Boerma claims that ‘we must remain vigilant about such a dictatorial system’. The students add: ‘We are glad to have experienced this trip together with people who witnessed the war. They explained a lot and told us their own stories. In a number of years there won’t be many people left who experienced the war. We must not forget their stories. We believe, as youngsters of today, that we carry a certain responsibility for freedom and equality of people, for instance through opposing discrimination and using our right to vote. Because to something weird as murdering people should never happen again’.¹⁰³⁰ Mentioning victims and their fate apparently was not part of this remembrance.

In **PH (1998)** it is stated that in the Netherlands deportations began in the summer of 1942. Jews were gathered at home and brought to transit camp *Westerbork* per train and tram. From there, trains left for Auschwitz or Sobibór, where women and children usually directly went to the gas chambers and men had to work as slaves ‘until they succumbed’.¹⁰³¹ Textbook **SV (2000)** offers one sentence about the fate of the Dutch Jews: of the 140,000 Dutch Jews some 104,000 perished, most of them in Sobibór and Auschwitz-Birkenau.

In **ME (2001)** a separate paragraph is dedicated to *the fate of the Jews* (in the Netherlands). Through *Durchgangslager* Westerbork the occupiers transported the Jews to the extermination camps. Of the 140,000 Dutch Jews 104,000 did not survive the war. Once, massive protests were made against the persecution of the Jews. In February 1941

¹⁰²⁶ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 172-173.

¹⁰²⁷ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1989, 221.

¹⁰²⁸ *Op weg naar 2000* 1994 TB, 165.

¹⁰²⁹ [http://www.oorlogsgetroffenen.nl/archiefvormer/Stichting Samenwerkend Verzet](http://www.oorlogsgetroffenen.nl/archiefvormer/Stichting_Samenwerkend_Verzet) (last consulted 30-3-2016).

¹⁰³⁰ *Sporen* 1996, 73-75.

¹⁰³¹ *Pharos* HO 1998, 73.

the German head of police Rauter deported 425 Jews to Mauthausen, 'as a retaliation for riots in Amsterdam and the death of a WA-man' (a commando-group of the NSB). The communists hereupon called for a strike. 'The strike could not prevent what happened to the Jews, neither did the joint protest of the Dutch churches in 1942'.¹⁰³² Textbook **ME (2004)** states that the first Dutch Jews were brought to the extermination camps during the summer of 1942, via Westerbork in Drenthe. 'The largest part of the Dutch Jews did not make it until the end of the war', according to the textbook, whereas in other occupied territories in Western Europe 'more survived'. Why that was is not explained.¹⁰³³ In **SV (2009)** some exact numbers are given: 84 trains left from Westerbork to Auschwitz or Sobibór. Of the 60,026 deported Jews to Auschwitz 1052 survived. 34,313 People went to Sobibór, nineteen survived.¹⁰³⁴

5.3 Multiple perspectives and plotlines of new victimhood

Perpetrators, bystanders and victims: dominant perspectives

Not without concern, Kolinsky and Von Borries observed in the 1990s that most West German students still associated National Socialism, the Holocaust and other atrocities in Eastern Europe with Hitler. The *Führer* was hitherto presented by many textbooks as the main (if not, only) protagonist of National Socialist crimes. The 'Hitler-thesis' or intentionalist approach, however, is only one of historical interpretations about Holocaust responsibility.¹⁰³⁵

In (West) German textbooks between 1980 and 2010, we witness a steady decline in apprehension for the intentionalist view on the history of the Holocaust. Textbooks **GdG (1984)**, **ZuM (1986)** and **GR (1992)** still very much consider Hitler as the driving force behind the persecution of Jews and other victims (see also table 5.18). In **GdG (1984)** for instance, it is written that 'Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is the most important source of information on National Socialist ideology, goals and methods.' Political opponents did not take the book seriously, which was a mistake with important consequences according to historian Walther Hofer: *„die Wirklichkeit, die Hitler schaffen sollte, übertraf in ihrer Furchtbarkeit womöglich noch seine Ideologie“*.¹⁰³⁶ According to the textbook, Hitler had ordered the *Vernichtung lebensunwertigen Leben* ('the destruction of unworthy lives') in October 1939. He supposedly also had ordered the killing of the Jews from Western Europe in July 1941. He persecuted minorities and was responsible for the murder of Soviet prisoners.¹⁰³⁷ In **GR (1992)** it is believed that Hitler and Himmler ordered the construction of huge *Vernichtungslager*, to make Europe 'judenfrei'. And at the time of the Wannsee Conference, 'Hitler and Göring had already decided about the Final Solution'.¹⁰³⁸ In **HPW (1998)** historian Hans Mommsen is quoted on the matter of Hitler's role. Mommsen claims that he simply cannot believe that it is appropriate to teach young people that 'the murdering of 5.5 million Jews can be explained through Hitler's fanatic antisemitism and political perseverance'. More important than to analyzing the mentality and character of the dictator, Mommsen

¹⁰³² *MeMo TB* 2001, 194-195.

¹⁰³³ *MeMo TB* 2004, 275.

¹⁰³⁴ *Sprekend Verleiden* EB 2009, 117 and 118.

¹⁰³⁵ See Kolinsky, 'Geschichte gegen den Strom' and Von Borries, *Das Geschichtsbewusstsein Jugendlicher*, 73.

¹⁰³⁶ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 196.

¹⁰³⁷ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 223.

¹⁰³⁸ *Grundriß der Geschichte* II, 1992, 340-341.

believes, is looking at the circumstances that enabled Hitler to practice his ideas: ‘under more favorable circumstances his political career would have ended relatively unnoticed in 1923’.¹⁰³⁹ Be that as it may, the textbook remains unclear about the question who actually was responsible for the genocide: ‘*man*’ (‘one’) began with the extermination of the Jews. In a text source called ‘*Endlösung*’, the *Wannsee*-protocol is quoted: Heydrich announced that he had been appointed by the *Reichsmarschall* (Goering) to commission the Final Solution. The ultimate responsibility – according to Heydrich – lay with the *Reichsführer SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei* (Himmler).¹⁰⁴⁰

Table 5.18: Most frequently named perpetrators in German textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook

GdG 1984	Hitler (3), Himmler, Goebbels
ZuM 1986	Hitler, Himmler, Eichmann, Goebbels, Goering
GR 1992	Hitler (3), Heydrich (2), Himmler, Goering, Eichmann, Höß
HPW 1998	Heydrich, Himmler, Goering
ZuM 2006	Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler (3), Heydrich
HO 2007	Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich, Höß
H/G 2010	Hitler (2), Heydrich, Eichmann
TOT	Hitler (11), Himmler (8), Heydrich (6), Eichmann (3), Goebbels (3), Goering (3), Höß (2)

In **HO (2007)** the academic debate between intentionalists and functionalists is discussed: ‘historians nowadays prefer the theory that the mass murders were not carefully planned in advance’, but executed within the context of a step-by-step radicalization. Systematic mass destruction initially failed, and started through mass shootings by SS-units ‘and also by *Wehrmacht*-units behind the front’. Probably food shortages led to the industrially conducted genocide.¹⁰⁴¹ The textbook reflects on the discussion by juxtaposing Kershaw’s opinion on Hitler (‘there was no concrete program for the Holocaust; but Hitler opted for the most radical solutions, so his staff knew that it was their task to ‘work towards the Führer’) with the 1970s ideas that of German historian Joachim Fest, who had stated that ‘German fascism was intimately connected to Hitler’. This personalist interpretation considered Hitler to be responsible for everything: ‘he was organizer, creator of an ideology, leader, politician, the center of the world’.¹⁰⁴² In **ZuM (2006)** ‘National Socialism’ is held responsible for the Holocaust: ‘a terrorist state emerged that pursued the planned killing of the Jewish people with all of its powers and forced the world into a war that cost the lives of over fifty million people’.¹⁰⁴³ The implementation of the ‘insane idea of systematic extermination of an entire people’ began in the spring of 1942 with the so-called Wannsee Conference, led by Reinhard Heydrich.¹⁰⁴⁴ Finally, in **H/G (2010)** it is stated that the Holocaust was not planned beforehand, but developed from increasing radicalization from June 1941 onwards within the context of the *Vernichtungskrieg* against the Soviet Union. With the failure of the Blitzkrieg in the autumn of 1941, the original plan of relocating the Polish

¹⁰³⁹ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 229-230.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 178.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Horizonte III* 2007, 86-87.

¹⁰⁴² *Horizonte III* 2007, 113.

¹⁰⁴³ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 101.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 128-129.

Jews towards the east could no longer be fulfilled. 'Probably Hitler and his environment then decided to wipe out the entire Jewish population in Europe'.¹⁰⁴⁵

Table 5.19: Most frequently named perpetrators in Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook

GvG 1981	Hitler (2), Heydrich, Eichmann, Himmler, Streicher, Rauter
BTE 1984	Hitler (2), Rauter, Asscher, Cohen
VadG 1993	Hitler (3), Eichmann
OW 1994	Hitler, Goebbels
SP 1996	Hitler, Himmler (4), Heydrich, Ziereis
PH 1998	Hitler, Himmler
SV 2000	Hitler, Himmler, Rosenberg, Streicher
ME 2001	Hitler, Streicher, Heydrich, Eichmann, Rauter
ME 2004	Hitler (2), Höß
SV 2009	Hitler (3), Himmler (3), Höß
TOT	Hitler (17), Himmler (10), Heydrich (3), Eichmann (3), Höß (2), Streicher (2), Rauter (2)

In the Dutch textbooks, the intentionalist approach still prevails. Nine out of ten believe not only that Hitler initiated the Holocaust, but also that it was a planned operation. Although the SS, Himmler and Heydrich are becoming increasingly important, five out of ten Dutch textbooks do not even mention Himmler in relation to the Holocaust (see table 5.19). In this context, the image of the 'almighty, angry, irresponsible and sometimes insane *Führer*'¹⁰⁴⁶ frequently pops up. Textbook **GvG (1981)** stresses the unsuccessful educational formation of Hitler:

'His youth was not very promising: heavy conflicts with his father (an irascible customs officer who did not appreciate the artistic ambitions of young Adolf), very poor performances at school and the failure of his artistic ambitions. When he became an orphan in 1908, Hitler moved to Vienna. There he spend, according to his own words, the most unhappy years of his life. In reality, it must have less bad than he suggested. in Vienna Hitler became antisemitic [followed by hostile passages from *Mein Kampf*], but his ideas were not taken seriously for a long time, people did not think he actually meant all of this'.¹⁰⁴⁷

According to the textbook, 'press campaigns, sharp accusations on political gatherings and a number of anti-Jewish measures had to convince the German people that the 'Jewish problem' could only be solved by extermination'. The Nuremberg Laws and *Reichskristallnacht* were 'sinister preludes of what was about to come'. Hitler believed that his plans for the '*Endlösung der Judenfrage*' could only be executed during war time. The organization of this was entrusted to Adolf Eichmann, 'a colorless gas fitter, as Harry Mulisch described him later'.¹⁰⁴⁸ In **BTE (1984)** 'Hitler and National Socialism' were responsible for 'their racial policy'. 'They' were vehemently antisemitic. Initially Jews were the object of ridicule, but soon there was discrimination, maltreatments and

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Histoire* 2010, 330.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 102-103.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 36-37.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 118.

persecution. 'The last stadium was *extermination*'.¹⁰⁴⁹ Textbook **VaG (1993)** states that once Hitler and the NSDAP had obtained absolute power in Germany, they had the chance to execute their antisemitic program. This program, 'which eventually amounted to the attempt to fully exterminate the Jews', was supported by the following thoughts (large antisemitic fragments from *Mein Kampf* follow).¹⁰⁵⁰

Textbook **OW (1994)** adds another dimension to the demonization of Hitler: he had become a 'social misfit' in Vienna, failing to establish an artistic career and living in residences for the homeless. The portrayal of Hitler as an unworldly person without much awareness of the realities of life seems to be emphasized by the exclamation mark at the end of the caption on the photo below (from a chapter on the Weimar Republic (see figure 6)).¹⁰⁵¹ Through his experiences in early life, Hitler 'developed an aggressive and extreme nationalistic view upon the world'. The *Bierhalleputsch* of November 1923 was a 'complete failure'. During the short skirmishes Hitler 'had behaved cowardly, ran away and was arrested'. In prison he wrote *Mein Kampf*, 'a confusing book'. 'Almost nobody outside the NSDAP took it seriously', but during the dictatorship of the Third Reich it appeared that Hitler himself was serious about it and 'executed many ideas, one of which was Hitler's Final Solution'.¹⁰⁵² The textbook sees Hitler as the architect of the Final Solution, which 'gave some Nazis the motive for committing one of the most brutal killings in history'.¹⁰⁵³



Figure 5.6. Caption: 'Visiting a farmer's family in eastern Prussia. Hitler hand in hand with child!'¹⁰⁵⁴ (Illustration from <http://imageweb-cdn.magnoliasoft.net/printcollector/supersize/2490478.jpg>).

According to textbook **PH (1998)** Hitler was the ultimate leader of Germany. Even in 1951, when a survey was held among the West Germans, the population was asked to judge the period between 1933 and 1939. 'Almost half of the people had positive

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 95.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1989, 192-193.

¹⁰⁵¹ *Op weg naar 2000* TB 1994, 103.

¹⁰⁵² *Op weg naar 2000* TB 1994, 101 and 167.

¹⁰⁵³ *Op weg naar 2000* 1994 TB, 156.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Op weg naar 2000* TB 1994, 103.

feelings about daily life under Hitler. Many believed that this had been ‘a unique period in history’, and that they were led by an ‘extraordinary personality’. One woman expressed: ‘We saw Hitler not as a man, but as an *Übermensch*. He was, so to speak, genderless. He was something we could not apprehend, like looking up to Jesus. He was a different kind of human being’.¹⁰⁵⁵ The textbook claims that Hitler made it clear from the start ‘that the Jews were the greatest racial poisoners of all times’, and that he would ‘take care of them once he obtained control over the state’. During the *Reichstag* speech of 30 January 1939, Hitler claimed that ‘the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe’ would be the consequence of ‘them again dragging nations into another world war’.¹⁰⁵⁶ But: the Holocaust was predominantly the work of the SS, and Himmler, as head of the SS, was ‘responsible for the Final Solution of the Jewish question’.¹⁰⁵⁷ In 1942 ‘one’ had ‘taken the decision to execute the mass murder, or Final Solution’.¹⁰⁵⁸

SV (2000) names Himmler as the second most powerful man in Germany because he became chief of police in 1936. The textbook claims that Himmler headed an organization that would be responsible for numerous crimes, the biggest of which was ‘murdering millions of people in the concentration camps’. Himmler wanted to ‘create a new kind of man who would do anything which was within the interest of the Führer’.¹⁰⁵⁹ Hitler controlled all power, but his subordinates had powers that were not clearly defined. The Third Reich was not a clear organized state, there were many conflicts.¹⁰⁶⁰ And Hitler and Himmler ‘ordered the mass shootings in the Soviet Union’.¹⁰⁶¹ In textbook **ME (2001)** it is stated that the German people ‘had to be convinced’ that there was such a thing as a ‘Jewish question’. This problem could only be solved by removing Jews from society. Hitler believed that this removal had to be permanent. That meant: he believed that ‘Jews had to be exterminated’. This *Endlösung der Judenfrage*, so he thought, could only be fulfilled during war time. As the war became more total, the persecution of the Jews became more total.¹⁰⁶² According to **ME (2004)** Hitler believed that Jews were the most inferior race in the world. He made the life of the Jewish population ‘unbearable so that many fled from the country’.¹⁰⁶³ Later, he aspired the destruction of the entire Jewish population. All Jews and other national minorities would have to be eliminated from Germany; WWII ‘and all the horrors ... and the Holocaust were the results of this’.¹⁰⁶⁴ According to a ‘well thought out plan Jews were caught and deported to concentration camps that were specially developed for murdering them in large numbers’. Approximately six million Jews died ‘in this slaughter’.¹⁰⁶⁵

Only textbook **SV (2009)** presents opposing views: in the exercise book, the German essayist Haffner claims that from 1941 onwards Hitler arranged the destruction of European Jewry even while it meant the total defeat of Germany. Swiss historian Burrin believes, however, although acknowledging Hitler’s antisemitic obsessions, that the ‘uncoordinated functioning of the Nazi regime as well as an uncontrollable situation

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Pharos* TB 1998, 198.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Pharos* TB 1998, 200-201.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Pharos* TB 1998, 200-201.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Pharos* HO 1998, 72.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 33.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 34.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 35-36.

¹⁰⁶² *MeMo* 2001, 187.

¹⁰⁶³ *MeMo* TB 2004, 336.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *MeMo* TB 2004, 151.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *MeMo* TB 2004, 339.

during the war led to the genocide in Europe'.¹⁰⁶⁶ However, the textbook states that the decision to proceed towards the Final Solution 'was made by Hitler and Himmler in June 1941'.¹⁰⁶⁷

The dominant perpetrator's perspective also becomes apparent through the use of specific words, phrases, sentences and discourse in the textbooks. Textbook authors from both countries continue to define and describe the Holocaust with use of the language of the perpetrators. Some German textbooks, as in the case of using either 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah', demonstrate some sensitivity with regard to the victims. An example is offered by **HO (2007)**, where it says that the term 'Reichskristallnacht' later was considered to be too trivializing, therefore 'one currently uses the term 'Reichsprognomnacht''. And: 'the SS considered the *Endlösung* 'Geheime Reichssache' and it was kept secret from German public. Notions like 'Evakuierung' and 'Sonderbehandlung' and 'Arbeitseinsatz im Osten' served as concealing mechanisms for the terrible events'.¹⁰⁶⁸ Otherwise, however, Nazi terms still are being used in abundance, sometimes printed in brackets or italics, sometimes without any indication that it concerns National Socialist terminology (see tables 5.20 and 5.21). This means that words and notions like *Endlösung der Judenfrage*, *Ausrottung*, *Vernichtungslager*, *systematische Durchkämpfung*, *Liquidierung*, *physische Vernichtung der Europäischen Juden*, *Rassenfeinde*, *Asoziale*, *Arbeitsscheue*, *vollständig vernichtet*, *Arisierung* or *Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens* are very much present in textbooks from both countries. Six of the German textbooks and nine of the Dutch textbooks use the term *Endlösung der Judenfrage* or 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question', most of the times with the use of distancing techniques. What the Nazis meant with the 'Final Solution' is generally and sometimes thoroughly made clear in the textbooks. But what the 'Jewish Question' was is not: the textbooks focus heavily on the Nazi euphemism for the state-organized expulsion or resettlement of the Jews, apparently for ideological reasons. That there is an earlier (dating back to eighteenth and nineteenth century debates) context of the term relating to assimilation politics or Jewish emancipation against the background of emerging nationalism in Europe, is completely lacking in the textbooks. This absence of essential historical contextualization derogates the term 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' almost exclusively to an abbreviation for the Holocaust in the language of Nazism; other meanings of the historical phrase seem to be no longer relevant.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 119.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 143.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Horizonte* III 2007, 85.

Table 5.20: Holocaust vocabulary used in German textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	
GdG 1984	' <i>Vernichtung der jüdischen Rasse in Europa</i> ', Euthanasia Program, <i>Gnadentod</i> , <i>Vernichtung des europäischen Judentums</i> , the extermination of all Jews, SS Einsatzkommandos, mass shootings, ghettos, <i>Vernichtungslager</i> , gassing stations, bodies were cremated. „ <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> “ „ <i>gelben Davidsstern</i> “
ZuM 1986	Terror und Verfolgung, „ <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> “, mass extermination in concentration camps, <i>Vernichtung</i> of Jews, <i>treiben von West nach Ost</i> , forced labor, mass killings, <i>Sonderbehandlung</i> , gas chambers, killed, poisonous gas „Zyklon B“, pesticide, <i>fabrikmäßige Tötung</i> , systematic eradication of Jews, mass shootings, <i>SS-Einsatzkommandos</i> , malnutrition, inhuman exertion, deportations, medical experiments, <i>ausmerzen</i> , <i>aufnorden</i> .
GR 1992	Rassenkriege, concentration camps, Untermenschen, executed, shootings, Einsatzgruppen, Vernichtungslager, murdered, died, ghetto, liquidiert, deported.
HPW 1998	Asoziale, Arbeitsscheue, Berufsverbrecher, Vernichtungslager, vollständig vernichtet, Ausrottung, Arisierung, 'Endlösung der Judenfrage', 'Vernichtung lebensunwertes Lebens', exterminate, Ghetto.
ZuM 2006	Physische Vernichtung der europäischen Juden, Vernichtungslager, 'Endlösung der Judenfrage', Ausrottung, Völkermord, Massenerschiessungen, Einsatzgruppen, systematische Durchkämpfung, massenvernichtungslager, liquidierung, Holocaust .
HO 2007	<i>Verfolgung und Vernichtung</i> , <i>Menschenvernichtung</i> , die sogenannte <i>Endlösung</i> , 'Arisierung der Gesellschaft', <i>systematic killing</i> , <i>mass murder</i> , Holocaust , Shoah , 'Evakuierung', 'Sonderbehandlung', 'Arbeitseinsatz im Osten', Ghetto.
H/G 2010	'Volksschädlingen', Einsatzgruppen, Shoah and Holocaust , Aktion Reinhardt, 'Reichsfeinde', killing, Arbeitsscheue, Asoziale, massacred, wipe out, 'Endlösung der Judenfrage', Ghetto, extermination camps, 'mobilen Mordaktionen', gassing, injections.

Table 5.21: Holocaust vocabulary used in Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	
GvG 1981	<i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> , <i>Vernichtungslager</i> , extermination, horrors, mass killings, Zyklon B, gassings, golden teeth and fillings, bones, slaughtered, caught, transported, deported, death transport, transit camp, hell of Auschwitz or Sobibór.
BTE 1984	Extermination camps, many millions were deported, deliberate and systematic murder.
VadG 1993	' <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> ', exterminate, deportation, extermination camps, Holocaust (without capital), gas chambers.
OW 1994	' <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> ', beastly killings, massively persecuted, killed by tens of thousands.
SP 1996	Concentration camps, extermination camps, Holocaust and Shoah , <i>Endlösung</i> or Final Solution of the 'Jewish question', German destruction machine.
PH 1998	Holocaust, <i>Endlösung</i> , mass murders, ghetto, extermination camps, death by gassing.
SV 2000	Holocaust , <i>Endlösung</i> , kill all Jews, kill a nation, extermination camps, gas chambers, murdered, died, shot, gassing.
ME 2001	<i>Endlösung</i> , eradicated, slaughtered, total extermination, Holocaust , <i>Vernichtungslager</i> , killing through carbon monoxide, Zyklon B, gas chambers and <i>Wasch- und Desinfektionsraum</i> , hell on earth, the filthiest thoughts about Jews, horrors.
ME 2004	Holocaust , Shoah , <i>Einsatzgruppen</i> , Ghettos, <i>Endlösung der Judenfrage</i> , extermination camps, Zyklon B,
SV 2009	Murdered, extermination camps, gas chambers deportation, executed, killed, shot, <i>Sonderbehandlung</i> , <i>Endlösung</i> , <i>Ausrottungserleichterungen</i> .

Bystanders

On January 27 1998, Yehuda Bauer, professor of Holocaust Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, delivered a speech to the German Bundestag. He finished his address with the following lines:

'I come from a people who gave the Ten Commandments to the world. Time has come to strengthen them by three additional ones, which we ought to adopt and commit ourselves to: thou shall not be a perpetrator; thou shall not be a victim; and thou shall never, but never, be a bystander.'¹⁰⁶⁹

'Bystanders' – here understood as individuals or states who were to some extent aware of maltreatment and the persecution of the victims of the Holocaust but took no active position on the matter or remained indifferent to it – are almost absent from the textbooks in both countries.

In the first three German textbooks (**GdG 1984**, **ZuM 1986**, **GR 1992**) this perspective is lacking. The first time a German textbook reveals anything about bystanders, is in **HPW (1998)** where a Jewish woman (now living in Israel) tells about her youth in Lemgo, where she was harassed by teachers and fellow students. In the same textbook author Ernst Toller remembers the time when he was bullied by a German woman (*Ausgrenzung der Juden im Alltag des kaiserlichen Deutschlands*).¹⁰⁷⁰ In **HO (2007)**, in a section called 'What did the population know?', Margarete Mitscherlich is quoted on the 'participation and agreement of the population'. According to her that was 'indispensable to be able to execute the mass murder'. Yet, the textbook states, 'others claim that Hitler and Himmler were concerned about lacking feelings of antisemitism among the people'. The Gestapo reported that the antisemitic actions during the Kristallnacht were not popular at all. So 'answers to the question how antisemitic the Germans were range from 'little' to Goldhagen's thesis'. The deportation of the Jews was done publicly, so every German could have known about them. 'Deportation and destruction are not the same however': an ordinary German probably could not have imagined what actually took place in the east. Sometimes rumors reached Germany, but it was difficult to believe. 'Even in Washington and London the first reports about the camps were not believed'.¹⁰⁷¹

ZuM (2006) assumes that public support in Germany for National Socialism increased until well into WWII. The latest scholarly insights on bystanders reveal historian Klaus Bergmann's notion of 'a second rise of national socialism'; he speaks of a 'dictatorship with the people'. The textbook states that historians agree on the fact that this strong support for the Nazis were powered by the effectiveness of the propaganda and education, as well as by the willingness of the people to believe and embrace this propaganda. In any case, one cannot assume that 'German supporters of National

¹⁰⁶⁹ <http://www.bundestag.de/kulturundgeschichte/geschichte/gastredner/bauer/rede.html> (last consulted 21 March 2014). The phenomenon of the 'bystander' was only discussed widely after the publications of Hilberg's *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders: The Jewish catastrophe, 1933-1945* (New York 1992), Victoria J. Barnett's *Bystanders – Conscience and Complicity during the Holocaust* (Westport 1999) and Friedländer's *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* and *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945* (New York 1997 and 2007).

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 241 and 129.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Horizonte* III 2007, 110-111.

Socialism merely were passive victims of its temptations': the 'vast majority of the population willingly followed Nazi views and ideology'.¹⁰⁷²

In textbook **H/G (2010)** Sebastian Haffner, as a young law clerk, portrays himself as a 'bystander', doing nothing when being confronted with SA-men who chased non-Aryans from the library of the Prussian law court in Berlin (from: *Geschichte eines Deutschen. Die Erinnerungen 1914-1933*).¹⁰⁷³ The textbook states that although Goldhagen's thesis of the inevitability of the Holocaust related to widespread German antisemitism cannot be upheld, it has 'clearly been demonstrated that not only the SS but also the civil and military administration largely participated in the genocide'.¹⁰⁷⁴ In a paragraph about world-wide responses to the Holocaust: 'What did the world know?' It says that the Allies received information about the camps from refugees, but gave priority to military actions. Pope Pius XII 'refused to give up the Vatican's neutral status and did not officially condemn the antisemitic actions committed by the Third Reich' (however, he did contribute to the rescue of thousands of Italian Jews in September 1943). Many Jews were saved by courageous actions by men and women who have been honored since 1963 in Israel with the title Righteous among the Nations. In 1944 the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg saved more than 20,000 Hungarian Jews by giving them Swedish passports.¹⁰⁷⁵

In chapter 18 ('France during WWII') there is a *dossier* on the persecutions in France, where it is stated that in October 1940 and June 1941 the Vichy-regime ordered the imprisonment of a part of foreign Jews. The Germans then 'forced the French authorities from 1942 onwards to deport the Jews'. The Vichy government supported these measures through administrative and police support in order to gain some political concessions. But 'a large part of the 350,000 Jews in France were helped by the parts of the French population, especially when it concerned children'. Nevertheless, some 75,000 Jews – one third of those had French nationality - were deported from France, of whom only 2,500 survived. The last text fragment in this section concerns a letter by the bishop of Toulouse of August 1942. The letter was read in all churches of the diocese, saying that 'Jews are people, terrible things happen to them, they are our brothers'. The last sentence: 'France, you noble and generous country, I do not doubt it. You are not responsible for these horrors'.¹⁰⁷⁶

In the Dutch textbooks, bystanders appear even less frequent. In one of the textbooks the word *omstander* ('bystander') pops up: after the German invasion of Austria in 1938, Austrian Jews, amidst loud laughter by many bystanders, cleaned the tram tracks of Vienna.¹⁰⁷⁷ In **GvG (1981)**, **BTE (1984)**, **VaG (1993)** and **PH (1998)** the bystander perspective is absent. In two cases (**OW 1994**, **ME 2001**) the position of Dutch civil servants is portrayed. In October 1940 all civil servants in the Netherlands had to sign a so-called non-Aryan declaration, stating that they were not Jewish. According to textbook **OW (1994)** 'of course many objected'. It continues rather anachronistically by stating that 'the majority signed out of fear to expect the same treatment as the Jews'.¹⁰⁷⁸ In **ME (2001)** sources deal with the 'indifference' of the Dutch population, 'cycling by' or 'playing tennis' while Jews were arrested in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁷⁹ In

¹⁰⁷² *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 108-109.

¹⁰⁷³ *Histoire* 2010, 267.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Histoire* 2010, 355.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Histoire* 2010, 334.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Histoire* 2010, 346-347.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *MeMo* TB 2004, 232.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Op weg naar 2000* 1994 TB, 165.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *MeMo* EB 2001, 103.

SP (1996), in the chapter on Mauthausen, the only bystanders mentioned are a manufacturer of crematoria and some companies where prisoners worked.¹⁰⁸⁰ In **ME (2004)** bystanders are present in primary sources. The only visual reference to a possible 'dark page' is the picture below (figure 7, from textbook **SV 2000**), where the Amsterdam removal company Puls (who earned its money by emptying houses of Jewish deportees) is shown. The caption is: 'While employees of Puls have themselves photographed, some other *Amsterdammers* watch from their oriel on the second floor'.¹⁰⁸¹



Figure 5.7. (Illustration from <http://www.oorlogsgetroffenen.nl/archiefvormer/ERR> (last consulted 4-8-16).

Jewish culture and antisemitism

As Foster¹⁰⁸² has recently stated, the phenomenon of the Holocaust can best be taught through the context of Jewish life in Europe and the history of antisemitism in order to provide students a perspective on precedential and circumstantial events and processes that contributed to the persecution of the Jews. This is confirmed by teaching guidelines issued by The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).¹⁰⁸³ In recent years, two important pieces of advice with regard to education about the Holocaust have been deduced from these findings. First, Jews should not be defined 'solely in terms of the Holocaust'. In order to understand what many societies looked like before the war, IHRA argues that it is recommendable to contextualize Jewish culture before and after the war 'in order to make it clear that the Jewish people have a long history and rich cultural heritage'. Secondly, 'young people should be aware of the enormous loss to contemporary world culture that resulted from the destruction of rich and vibrant Jewish communities in Europe'. Furthermore, it seems vital that students and teachers

¹⁰⁸⁰ Sporen 1996, 79 and 83.

¹⁰⁸¹ Sprekend Verleden 2000, 57.

¹⁰⁸² Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*.

¹⁰⁸³ <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/educate/teaching-guidelines> (last consulted 3-8-16).

‘recognize that antisemitism is a worldwide and centuries-old phenomenon’. Many stereotypical references to the wealth and significant position of Jewish people in pre-war Europe derive from inadequate contextualization: many Jews (especially in Eastern Europe) were poor and powerless; others considered to be fully assimilated. Also, before the war less than 1% of the German population was Jewish.¹⁰⁸⁴ Likewise it is considered vital for students to understand that terrible things often happen through decisions made by individuals, groups or nations. The Holocaust was not ‘inevitable’; by emphasizing those decisions one enhances critical thinking.¹⁰⁸⁵

In a 2006 publication on ‘Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism’, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe OSCE (through the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights ODIHR) offers an overview on Holocaust education including recommendations: ‘In general, images of national, ethnic, and religious homogeneity are a consequence of the underexposure given to contemporary and past histories of Jews and other minorities. Despite the message conveyed by national descriptions of history, the OSCE region throughout its history has in fact never been homogeneous. Migration, multiculturalism, and multi-faith communities are both current and historical facts that should be taught in schools’.¹⁰⁸⁶ The unilateral image of Jews as victims of National Socialism, however, still dominates the textbooks, and is most of the time supported by pictures and illustrations of these Holocaust victims.

In this selection of German textbooks, only two (**GdG 1984** and **ZuM 2006**) mention some aspects of Jewish culture before the war. The first one claims that ‘Jews had contributed greatly to European cultural life since their emancipation in the age of Enlightenment’. They brought forth many scientists, authors and artists, especially in Germany. Jews mainly worked in industry and commerce, as lawyers, doctors and journalists. Although, during the 19th century, the process of assimilation had meant the loss of Jewish identity in religion and culture, a ‘militant and ideological antisemitism emerged’.¹⁰⁸⁷ In **HO (2007)** in a paragraph about *das Schicksal der jüdischen Deutschen* (‘the fate of the German Jews’) information is given on the number of Jews living in Germany before 1933. The textbook states ‘that they were a small minority, mostly middle-class and well-integrated in German society’.¹⁰⁸⁸ The only time that post-war Jewish life is mentioned, is through the ‘Righteous among the Nations’ program in Yad Vashem, where gentiles who had saved the lives of Jews are honoured (like Raoul Wallenberg, who saved more than 2,000 Hungarian Jews).¹⁰⁸⁹

Most German textbooks try to depict the antisemitic context of the Holocaust. All acknowledge the racial character of National Socialist antisemitism as being crucial in relation to further events. **GdG (1984)** for instance states that twentieth century antisemitism was of a racial nature instead of the medieval religiously motivated persecutions. National Socialist antisemitism ‘was not new in their foolish arguments, because in Germany Jews were held ‘responsible for every political or economic misfortune’. Already in imperial Germany under Bismarck, an antisemitic league was formed, urging for restriction of Jewish supremacy in politics, economics and society. In the Reichstag of 1893 sixteen deputies were openly antisemitic. New was the ‘radical character of the attempts to deport and finally physically exterminate the Jews from

¹⁰⁸⁴ Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 31.

¹⁰⁸⁵ <http://www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/319> (last consulted 20-7-16).

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism: An Overview and Analysis of Educational Approaches* (OSCE/ODIHR), Warsaw 2006, 168.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1984, 172.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Horizonte III* 2007, 84-85.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Histoire* 2010, 334.

Germany'.¹⁰⁹⁰ Textbook **ZuM (1986)** adds that National Socialist racial ideology as well as the *bedingungslose Entschlossenheit zur Tat* ('unconditional determination to act') were new and different elements of existing antisemitism. For Hitler and his supporters the Jews were 'the incarnation of everything mean and evil, the sworn enemies of humanity'. Jews were leading elements in world communism as well as in world capitalism. Proverbs are quoted: "*Bei Juden und Läusen hilft nur eine Radikalkur*" ('for Jews and lice only radical treatments help'), and "*Schlage einen Juden tot, so nimmt es deiner Seele vierzig Sünden ab*" ('when you kill a Jew, it takes away forty of your sins').¹⁰⁹¹ In **GR (1992)** Hitler seems to have invented antisemitism, written down in his program *Mein Kampf*: the history of mankind was determined by the development of and conflict between races.¹⁰⁹²

Textbook **HPW (1998)** offers more information: National Socialist antisemitism was not new, in German society of the 1920s the (right-wing) DNVP e.g. was just as antisemitic. New was how the Nazis practiced this antisemitism and connected it to anti-Marxism.¹⁰⁹³ Historian Helmut Krausnick¹⁰⁹⁴ is quoted:

Judenverfolgungen hat es im Verlauf der Geschichte des Öfteren gegeben – niemals aber eine staatliche veranlasste von solch diabolischer Konsequenz der Planung, kalter Systematik der Durchführung, so schauerlichem Ausmaß und Ergebnis wie **die** Verfolgung, welche das nationalsozialistische Regime in seinem Herrschaftsbereich mit allen Mitteln administrativer und maschineller Technik unternahm.¹⁰⁹⁵

'There have been persecutions of Jews throughout history - but never such a state-run, diabolically scheduled and emotionless and systematic implementation. The Nazi regime in the occupied territory undertook the persecutions with all administrative and industrial means, leading to a horrific extent and result'.

Modern antisemitism falsely considered Jews to be a race, not as a religious community, so that assimilated Jews were also at risk.¹⁰⁹⁶ Antisemitism has a long history among the churches and petty bourgeoisie. Since the Jews had emancipated during the nineteenth century, many others (students and farmers) became antisemitic. Before 1914, however, 'hardly anyone believed that Jews were responsible for the main problems in Germany'. In Eastern Europe and France anti-Jewish measures were far worse than in Germany. In Germany, however, antisemitism turned into a pseudo-scientific ideology. One of the key figures here was composer Richard Wagner, who hoped to purify Germany by eradicating the Jews (followed by quotes from *Was ist Deutsch?* ('what is German?') by Richard Wagner). A range of contextualizing sources seem to confirm the narrative from the main text. The lives of German author Ernst Toller and Jewish schoolgirl Lilli Jahn are told, who became victims of antisemitism during their youth. And Heinrich Claß is quoted, who was the leader of the pan-Germanic *Alldeutschen Verband* and claimed that Germans needed a *Führer* and Jews should be expelled from Germany. Finally, Fischer's

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1984, 172.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 197-198.

¹⁰⁹² *Grundriß der Geschichte II* 1992, 307.

¹⁰⁹³ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 123-124.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Helmut Krausnick (1905-1990) was a German historian who was in charge of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* in Munich until 1972. From 1953 until 1972 Krausnick was chief editor of the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (VfZ). His major publication was *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges* on the assassination of Jews in Eastern Europe by the *Einsatzgruppen*.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 174.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 127.

thesis (and that of the American historian G.L. Mosse) on the alleged autocratic continuity in German history from the days of Wilhelm II to National Socialism is discussed.¹⁰⁹⁷ Textbook **HO (2007)** believes that the fact that the National Socialists could have portrayed the Weimar Republic as a *Judenrepublik* ('republic of Jews') can be explained through the long lasting antisemitic tradition in Germany – but also elsewhere. It dates back to the Middle Ages, when there were severe pogroms (connected to crusades and the bubonic plague). Jews were marked as 'murderers of Christ' and were supposed to poison water wells. Furthermore, they 'were a minority, scapegoats and financially successful'. During the 19th century, the textbook claims that antisemitism obtained a racial connotation, for instance through works of De Gobineau and Chamberlain. Antisemitism therefore was not an invention by Hitler, 'he just followed the paths of others'. Antisemitism is not specific a German phenomenon; pogroms against Jews in particular occurred in Eastern Europe. The particularity of National Socialist antisemitism is its biological manifestation. For racial Nazi fanatics, Jews were equal to germs ('*Rassentuberkolose*').¹⁰⁹⁸

In **ZuM (2006)** the authors state that European antisemitism dates back to the Middle Ages. In the course of the 19th century it reappeared in a new form: it was no longer legitimized through religious imaginations, but through pseudoscientific forms of racism. Jews were considered to be enemies, not because of their religious beliefs, but because of their allegedly racial, so hereditary, features. Modern antisemitism thus became a step more dangerous: where earlier Jews could escape danger through religious assimilation, now there was 'no way out'. In 'remarkable *Rückwärtsgewandtheit*' ('retrogression') and 'misjudgment of the industrial era', National Socialists assumed that the strength and development of a nation depended upon the amount of *Lebensraum* available to them. Germans, according to National Socialist propaganda, were a *Volk ohne Raum* ('people without territory'). From this attitude a direct road followed to National Socialist expansion politics, WWII and the enslavement and destruction of the population in occupied areas.¹⁰⁹⁹

In **H/G (2010)** it is said that antisemitism appeared in Germany around 1880, religiously based at first and then becoming increasingly nationalist and racial (characterized by National Socialist ideology).¹¹⁰⁰ Hitler (in his *Bekenntnisbuch Mein Kampf*, 'which was handed over on weddings like a bible') and the chief editor of the party newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* Alfred Rosenberg spread National Socialist ideas (in his book *Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*).¹¹⁰¹

In none of the Dutch textbooks anything is written or showed on pre- or postwar Jewish life in the Netherlands. Jews are – when at all – portrayed as a homogenous group of victims. Dutch textbooks generally expound the idea that antisemitism was a National Socialist invention and that there was no such thing as an antisemitic tradition in Europe or the Netherlands. Sometimes, no explanation is given at all: three textbooks reveal no information on antisemitic contexts (**GvG 1981**), **OW 1994**, **PH 1998**), while **ME (2001)** only mentions that 'Hitler's antisemitism was not an exception, because it grew explosively during the 19th century'.¹¹⁰² Textbook **SP (1996)** thinks the National Socialists 'used' the Jews 'as a scapegoat for economic hardship: their racial policy meant

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 128-131.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Horizonte* III 2007, 61.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 103.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Histoire* 2010, 260-261.

¹¹⁰¹ *Histoire* 2010, 260.

¹¹⁰² *MeMo* TB 2001, 254.

that only the Germanic, north European 'race' (blond hair, blue eyes) was superior and that all other 'races' needed to be subjugated or destroyed'.¹¹⁰³ Only four textbooks (**BTE 1984, VaG 1993, SV 2000, SV 2009**) sometimes very ambiguously and vaguely put forth a 'certain antisemitic tradition' in European history. Two textbooks explain the racial ideology of National Socialism as a critical element in relation to the Holocaust, while the other eight textbooks confuse medieval antisemitism with its Nazi version while persisting in the scapegoat-theory. **BTE (1984)** claims that the Nazis 'reinvented racial theories deriving from *social Darwinism*'. Because of their intense antisemitism, the Germans held convictions on racial features, like body length, hair color, skull size, etc. *Minor* races had no right to 'full treatment'. Scientifically these theories were completely untenable, but they have caused immense suffering.¹¹⁰⁴ Germans have a 'history of antisemitism', being 'fiercely antisemitic and developing racial ideas'. The Holocaust is portrayed within the historical context of pogroms 'especially in the Rhineland'. Luther has had antisemitic views, although antisemitism was not exclusively German. In France the tradition had been alive as well. National Socialism, however, was an 'excrement of an excrement'.¹¹⁰⁵ Textbook **VaG (1993)** stresses the fact that many Christian churches (in Germany as elsewhere) held negative attitudes towards the Jews. The Jews had 'crucified' Christ. Around the turn of the century, however, a 'severe antisemitism emerged in Germany'. 'Typical' was the fact that antisemitic and racist ideas were popular in pseudo-intellectual circles within the German bourgeoisie. It was 'fashionable to be antisemitic or racist' [followed by extensive 2,5 page comments on the theories of Gobineau, Darwin, Chamberlain].¹¹⁰⁶ **SV (2000)** offers multiple perspectives on the historical context of antisemitism arguing that antisemitism was present in Germany since Luther, that antisemitism occurred in other countries too, and that in Germany important human rights were introduced in 1848.¹¹⁰⁷ Antisemitism was 'not invented by the National Socialists, it existed almost everywhere in Europe'. In times of need, when people look for scapegoats, antisemitism emerges. Hitler and his National Socialists, however, organized a state-controlled hunt for all Jews.¹¹⁰⁸

Textbook **SV (2009)** is the only textbook that raises the question how these crimes could have been committed in Europe. It states that 'although there is a antisemitic tradition in Europe, nothing is compared to what happened to the Jews under the Nazis'.¹¹⁰⁹ In the exercise book the authors display a number of sources on historical antisemitism. Examples are shown of pogroms in the German town of Fulda in 1235, anti-Jewish statements by Martin Luther or the execution of the German Jewish banker Joseph Süss Oppenheimer in 1738 (about whom the Nazis in 1940 made the propagandistic film *Jud Süß*). Only one non-German antisemitic example is mentioned: the *Dreyfuss-affair*. Antisemitism had existed for centuries almost everywhere in Europe, because people sought scapegoats in difficult times. Jews namely, had a different religion, different clothes and customs.¹¹¹⁰ The book continues with examples of the Nazi *Völkische Weltanschauung* from *Mein Kampf*, quotes by Nazi ideologist Karl Zimmermann, anti-Russian propaganda from a SS-photo-brochure called *Der*

¹¹⁰³ *Sporen* 1996, 223.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 95.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 95.

¹¹⁰⁶ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1989, 197-199.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 23.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 26-27.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 114.

¹¹¹⁰ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 137.

Untermensch, quotes from Nazi newspapers, a children's book and so on. This renewed antisemitism is seen as the major cause for the Nazi persecutions of the Jews.¹¹¹¹

Victims

In one of the German textbooks, a joke is quoted (*Flüsterwitz zur Judenfrage*): Goldstein and Cohn walk along the Kurfürstendamm, they talk about Davidson who died. Goldstein shrugs his shoulders and replies: 'well, if he can improve the quality of his life...'.¹¹¹²

This jest, trivial as it is, offers a rare perspective on the lives of the victims of Nazi persecution. Although most textbooks are largely correct on the number of victims (see table 5.22), we get to learn much more about the perpetrator's perspectives, depicting the process of mass murder. We know, from the point of view of the perpetrators why the mass shootings were ineffective or how *Zyklon B* could kill people in the death chambers within three to fifteen minutes.¹¹¹³

Table 5.22: Victims of the Holocaust in German textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Total Number of Jewish Victims	Other Victims mentioned	Individual Victims
GdG 1984	Approximately 6 million	Poles, Russians, handicapped	-
ZuM 1986	Between 3.5 and 8 million	Mental patients, orphans and invalids, <i>Asoziale</i> , victims of euthanasia, political opponents, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, Jehovah's witnesses, Polish intellectuals, Soviet intellectuals and prisoners of war	Boy in Warsaw (photo)
GR 1992	5 to 6 million	Mentally handicapped, <i>Zigeuner</i> , Soviet prisoners of war, Polish teachers, civil servants, intellectuals and officers	-
HPW 1998	Between 4.19 and 4.58 million	Communists, Social Democrats, homosexuals, criminals, Soviet prisoners of war, forced laborers 'Untermenschen'	Jewish schoolgirl from Lemgo
ZuM 2006	Between 4.6 and 6 million	Mentally and physically handicapped, political opponents, Sinti, Roma, homosexuals, Bible researchers, Slavic population	Lilli Jahn, Primo Levi, W. Poller, Benedikt Kautsky, Jaroslav Bartl, Martin Caspar, Reska Weiss, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli
HO 2007	Between 5 and 6 million	<i>Asoziale</i> , criminals, handicapped, psychiatric patients, Sinti, Roma,	Boy in Warsaw (photo), Victor Klemperer
H/G 2010	Between 5.2 and 5.8 million (according to academic debates) ¹¹¹⁴	<i>Volksschädlingen</i> , patients in German psychiatric hospitals, Jehovah's witnesses, Sinti, Roma, homosexuals, layabouts, asocial people, alcoholics, Polish and Soviet communists	Boy in Warsaw (photo), Primo Levi, Szlama Dragon, Lejb Langfus

¹¹¹¹ *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 114-115.

¹¹¹² *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 179.

¹¹¹³ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 228.

¹¹¹⁴ *Histoire* 2010, 334.

Most German textbooks write about uniform victim groups as 'Jews' (all textbooks), 'handicapped' (all textbooks), 'Soviets or Poles' (including prisoners of war) (all textbooks), 'political opponents' (all textbooks), 'Sinti and Roma' (five textbooks), 'social misfits' (including criminals and alcoholics) (four textbooks) 'homosexuals' (three textbooks) or 'Jehovah's witnesses' (three textbooks). Who these people were, why they were killed, what their lives were like, what they believed, felt, thought or experienced, however, is seldom included. In general, the German textbooks do not provide much information about what exactly happened in the camps or how life in the ghettos was like. Only once, the aftermath of the Holocaust is portrayed through the eyes of the victims: 'especially for the Jewish people, the "Shoah" is inescapably present in everyday family life..¹¹¹⁵ In the course of time, however, stories of individual victims of the Holocaust do appear in German history textbooks. In **HPW (1998)** for example, where author Ernst Toller tells about the first time he experienced his Jewish background as a child when pestered by a German woman. In the same textbook, a Jewish woman (now living in Israel) tells about her youth in the German town of Lemgo, where she was harassed by teachers and fellow students.¹¹¹⁶

The later textbooks provide much more detailed information about the personal lives of victims of Nazi totalitarianism. In **ZuM (2006)** one of the primary sources is about Lilli Jahn. Lilli was born into a wealthy Jewish family from Cologne, studied medicine and got married in 1926 with Ernst Jahn, also a doctor and a member of the evangelical church. Together they held a practice near Kassel. The couple had five children, all of whom were baptized and raised evangelical. In the spring of 1933 Lilli had to give up her practice; in the village where they lived and worked, the until then respected doctor's family became increasingly isolated. Lilli could no longer attend community fairs or concerts; the family could no longer find holiday lodgings. In 1942 her husband left her, and subsequently Lilli was no longer protected by her marriage to an Aryan husband. Finally, she was deported to Auschwitz and killed there in 1944. Her biography¹¹¹⁷ is based on over 560 letters and other documents kept by the family. Four letters are listed as sources.¹¹¹⁸ In *Thema* (containing several sources, exercises, suggestions for further reading and for more research) more eyewitness accounts are listed: Primo Levi, Buchenwald survivors W. Poller, Benedikt Kautsky (detained as a 'political Jew'), Jaroslav Bartl (a Czech inmate who was arrested for homosexuality), Martin Caspar, and Auschwitz survivor Reska Weiss. Likewise fragments from the memoirs of the Hungarian physician Miklos Nyiszli are presented. Nyiszli worked as a court physician in Hungary before being deported to Auschwitz. His medical training offered him a special position (*Funktionshäftling*) as a subordinate of SS doctor Joseph Mengele. Nyiszli's task was to perform autopsies and to assist at 'scientific research'.¹¹¹⁹

In **H/G (2010)** most text sources portray perpetrators, except for two. One describes the process of killing, shaving, extracting teeth, burning the corpses and getting rid of the ashes. This horrific story was told by Szlama Dragon, a Polish woman who worked in the *Sonderkommando* in crematorium nr. V in Auschwitz. The other source recounts of manuscripts written by *Sonderkommando* members, found in 1952

¹¹¹⁵ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 101.

¹¹¹⁶ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 129 and 241.

¹¹¹⁷ Martin Doerry, *'Mein verwundetes Herz' – Das Leben der Lilli Jahn 1900-1944* (Stuttgart/München 2002).

¹¹¹⁸ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 146-147.

¹¹¹⁹ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 173-180.

together with an anonymous text which is said to be written by Polish inmate Leib Langfus. Langfus probably died in 1944. The text – originally in Yiddish – narrates about a young Polish woman who, already in the gas chamber, suddenly rose and spoke of hope and German barbarism, after which all prayed and sang the Polish national anthem, the Jews sang the Hatikwa, and more songs. ‘When the gas entered the room, they all died’. Questions attached are about the importance of the testimony, the character of the Shoah, the behavior of the victims.¹¹²⁰

Seven Dutch textbooks are correct in specifically referring to the total number of five to six million Jewish Holocaust victims (see table 5.23). As to references to the number of Jewish victims from the Netherlands, however, in six out of ten textbooks the numbers are incorrect, non-specific or non-existent. Individual victims remain mainly absent from Holocaust narratives in the Dutch textbooks. There are only six individual victims who become ‘visible’ in the ten textbooks. In **SP (1996)** the picture below is shown. The photo was taken by one of the SS guards in 1942 and portrays Hans Bonarewitz on his way to his execution, accompanied by the camp orchestra. Bonarewitz had tried to escape from Mauthausen camp, but was captured. (the same picture as in figure 8, but mirrored). Anne Frank (mentioned in three textbooks, her picture shown in one) and the Warsaw ghetto boy (two photos) are two of the children who suffered by the Nazis.

Homogenous groups are mentioned, exclusively portrayed as ‘victims’ of repression, persecution and murder. That there was such a thing as Jewish resistance, like underground groups in the ghettos that started ‘illegal’ activities or organized armed uprisings, or insurrections in the camps, is not mentioned in the Dutch textbooks. The only allusion to opposition groups is made in a question in textbook **GvG (1981)**: ‘People have said after the war: ‘the Jews have not resisted while they were being carried off and liquidated. Check if this is true’. How students are supposed to answer this question remains unclear; there is no information about this topic in the textbook.¹¹²¹

¹¹²⁰ *Histoire* 2010, 337.

¹¹²¹ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 125.



Figure 5.8. Caption: 'Hans Bonarewitz was caught by guards after attempting to escape. Accompanied by an orchestra of prisoners he was brought to the location where he was to be executed. The picture ... is made by a SS-man in 1942' (Illustration from <http://www.aeiou.at/aeiou.history.docs/51481.htm;internal&action=setlanguage.action?LANGUAGE=en>) (last consulted 5-8-16).

Table 5.23: Victims of the Holocaust in Dutch textbooks 1980-2010

Textbook	Total Number of Victims /The Netherlands	Other Victims mentioned	Individual Victims
GvG 1981	6 million/104,000	Communists, socialists, homosexuals, between 400,000 and 500,000 gypsies	Boy in Warsaw (photo)
BTE 1984	Many millions/-	Gypsies, people from Poland and the Soviet Union	-
VadG 1993	5,978,000/90,000	-	-
OW 1994	-/95,000	Gypsies, homosexuals, freemasons, Jehovah's witnesses, physical and mental patients, Slavic people	Anne Frank (photo)
SP 1996	Approximately 6 million/-	Gypsies, Soviet prisoners of war	Bonarewitz
PH 1998	Millions/-	-	-
SV 2000	Between 5 and 6 million/104,000	Between 40,000 and 213,000 gypsies, communists, Poles, 3 million Soviet prisoners of war	-
ME 2001	Between 5 and 6 million/104,000	Gypsies, socialists, communists, homosexuals, mentally handicapped, Slavic people, 6 million Poles, Anne Frank	Abel Herzberg
ME 2004	More than 5 million/the largest part	Gypsies, homosexuals, communists, Jehovah's witnesses, 'a-socials', (mentally) handicapped, Anne Frank	Father of Westerbork child, Anne Frank (diary)
SV 2009	Between 5 and 6 million/104,000	Slavic people, 40,000 to 231,000 gypsies, Soviet prisoners of war,	Boy in Warsaw (photo), Anne Frank (diary), E.A. Cohen

Through these victims, however, the textbooks mainly portray the perspectives of ruthless perpetrators or disinterested bystanders; what happened to the individual victims does not become clear. Exceptions are fragments from a diary of a teacher in Westerbork who bitterly remembers his son being taken away exactly a year before ('on his way to destiny'),¹¹²² or Dutch Sobibór-survivor E. A. Cohen¹¹²³ who published a book called *De negentien treinen naar Sobibor* ('The Nineteen Trains to Sobibór'). Cohen describes the impact and processing of traumatic experiences in the camps (like acute depersonalization, self-preservation, adaptation or acquiescence). This eyewitness account, however, is not related to the main text nor are there any questions linked to this source.¹¹²⁴ A fragment from a diary held by Abel Herzberg (1893-1989), a Jewish lawyer and author of essays and publications on the persecution of the Jews, is found in **ME (2001)**. Here, not the fear of arrest is the central issue, but the apathy of tennis-playing bystanders.¹¹²⁵

Other victim groups are mentioned, but without sufficient or any contextualization. The number of casualties is sometimes provided, mostly not (see table 5.23). The collective victim groups mentioned in the Dutch textbooks are Jews, gypsies, Soviets and Poles, homosexuals, handicapped, political opponents, freemasons and Jehovah's witnesses. We do not know for what reasons these people were murdered. Most textbooks stress the 'ideological' basis of victimhood, largely referring to either the political terror against socialists and communists, or persecutions of 'inferior races' or 'subordinate people'. Why these victim groups were considered politically or racially inferior in Nazi ideology, is hardly explained in any of the textbooks. In this way also, victims receive little to no attention. The numbers are more or less correct, but the absence of personal stories or information about what actually happened to these groups is the rule rather than the exception. The following piece from textbook **ME (2004)** best exemplifies this lack of contextualization:

'All non-German elements had to be removed, in the first place Jews, but also gypsies, homosexuals and mentally handicapped were killed. The Aryan race had the right to remove all people who would impair purity. They also had the right to reign over inferior people in Eastern Europe (Slavs). The racial doctrine has led to the biggest crime in the history of mankind: the organized destruction of over five million Jewish lives. No people, with the sole exception of the Jews, suffered as much under the German occupation as the Poles. Next to three million Polish Jews also three million ethnic Poles perished'.¹¹²⁶

¹¹²² *MeMo* TB 2004, 291.

¹¹²³ Elie Aron Cohen (1905-1993) was a Dutch doctor who, while being in hiding, was betrayed in 1942 and deported to the camps together with his family. His wife was gassed in Poland together with their son. Elie Cohen survived the horrors of the camps. After the war he did his PhD (supervisor was H.C. Rümke, professor of psychiatry) in 1952 on (originally in Dutch) *The German Concentration Camp*, a medical-psychological study and one of the first scientific descriptions of what had happened in extermination camps as Auschwitz. It also provided an analysis of the psychology of the SS-men who served in these camps. Cohen published several books on the Holocaust, including *De negentien treinen naar Sobibor* ('The Nineteen Trains to Sobibór') (originally published in 1979). (see <http://www.ntvg.nl/artikelen/memoriam-dreacohen>, last consulted 20-3-2016).

¹¹²⁴ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 126-128 and *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 118.

¹¹²⁵ *MeMo* EB 2001, 102-103.

¹¹²⁶ *MeMo* TB 2004, 291. 286.

In textbook **GvG (1981)**, in one of the assignments, this problem is somewhat identified: 'During World War Two some 400,000-500,000 gypsies were killed by the Nazis. There is generally little attention for the attempt of exterminating the gypsies. Why?'¹¹²⁷ Another textbook states that 'estimations on the number of murdered gypsies vary enormously (from 40,000 to 213,000) because of the limited registration of personal data of gypsies in Eastern Europe'.¹¹²⁸

Individual and collective responsibility issues

All German textbooks in this sample engage in aspects of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* ('dealing with the past'), but never in the same paragraph as where the Holocaust is described. It seems as if the Holocaust is presented as 'history', whereas the reflection on the persecutions and mass killings is portrayed as part of the present. In these paragraphs on *Kollektivschuld* ('collective guilt'), it is unclear whether students should cope with the Nazi past or with the Holocaust. In textbook **GdG (1984)** it is said that the crimes committed by the Nazis are 'unprecedented in recent history'. Especially the 'systematic destruction of millions of people, who were not opposing the regime', is a burden for the German people. 'Of course' the real criminals and blind followers of Hitler were just a minority; the vast majority were political opportunists who remained indifferent. Few people had the courage to oppose, yet 'without any doubt there is a collective liability' (*Kollektivhaftung*) for 'something that was done in the name of a nation by its government'.¹¹²⁹ **ZuM (1986)** deals with *Der Nationalsozialismus und die deutsche Geschichte* ('National Socialism and German History'). Here the textbook states that 'National Socialism is part of the German past', playing an ongoing role in German history. Young people in Germany are confronted with this part of the past; they have to respond to it. They will be 'horrified to learn what happened, and feel ashamed that this could have happened in the name of the German people'. References are made to the *Stuttgarter Schuldbekennntnis* by the Protestant churches in October 1945: '„Durch uns ist unendliches Leid über viele Völker und Länder gebracht geworden“. The 'consequences of this event still determine today's reality', according to the textbook. It would be wrong to repress National Socialism as a past event, 'as if we would have nothing more to do with it' ... 'we have to deal with this part of our history, in order to provide an increasingly accurate answer to the question: "How could this have been possible"?' This is a precondition for the future. The era of National Socialism in Germany is 'the history of a terrible aberration, in which an entire people was driven into out of ideological blinding, ignorance and cowardice'. This does not mean that the German people 'can be acquitted of the guilt for the suffering it has inflicted upon so many people'. The 'fact that other nations acted the same during other eras', does not 'free the German people from this responsibility, on the contrary'. The German people 'has had to learn how precious and indispensable human dignity is', and that international understanding, peace and democracy are the only ways in which dignified people can live together. 'Our permanent requirement is to create from this heritage our political present and future'.¹¹³⁰

Yet if one analyses the illustrations the textbook offers, only two photos depict the tragedy of the Holocaust. One picture portrays 'scenes from the Warsaw ghetto, the second photo (figure 8) shows the 'expulsion of Jews from the Warsaw ghetto'. By

¹¹²⁷ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 125.

¹¹²⁸ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 143.

¹¹²⁹ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* TB 1984, 201.

¹¹³⁰ *Zeiten und Menschen* 1986, 248.

contrast, nine illustrations represent the 'German catastrophe': bombing raids on Dresden and Berlin (2), the destroyed city of Dresden in February 1945, German refugees moving from the German Eastern territories, a refugee train arriving in Berlin, the ruined city of Aachen: German civilians fleeing from the American combat zone, demolitions in the city of Magdeburg, Germans standing in line at a water pump.¹¹³¹



Figure 5.9. Caption: 'Expulsion of Jews from the Warsaw ghetto' (Illustration from http://www.wikiwand.com/de/Warschauer_Ghetto) (last consulted 10-8-16).

Textbook **GR (1992)** states that after the war collective shame prevailed: camp survivors and other victims of persecution revealed the for many Germans unimaginable consequences of National Socialist terror. The returning *Vertriebene* needed also to be taken care of. Many Germans felt 'bitter about the responsible National Socialists and approved of their death sentences or long imprisonments'. Only a few faced collective responsibility, like the evangelical church did in their Stuttgarter Schuldbekenntnis of October 1945: "*Mit großem Schmerz sagen wir: Durch uns ist unendliches Leid über viele Völker und Länder gebracht worden... Wir klagen uns an, dass wir nicht mutiger bekannt, nicht treuer gebetet, nicht fröhlicher geglaubt und nicht brennender geliebt haben*" ('with great sorrow we say: through us immeasurable suffering has been brought about many peoples and countries ... We accuse ourselves of not having been more courageous, not having prayed more faithful, not having believed more joyous and not having loved more passionate'). When in 1970 the Federal Republic of Germany recognized the loss of former territories of the German Empire in the east, 'for many Germans the burden of WWII seemed to be mastered'.¹¹³² On the other hand the textbook spends 3.5 pages on the persecutions of the Jews and ten pages on resistance in Germany against the Nazis.¹¹³³

¹¹³¹ *Grundzüge der Geschichte* 1984, 163-202.

¹¹³² *Grundriß der Geschichte II* 1992, 353.

¹¹³³ *Grundriß der Geschichte II* 1992, 342-352.

In textbook **HPW (1998)** it is clearly stated that National Socialism had been 'deeply rooted in German history'. Although many Germans believed after 1945 that Hitler and National Socialism had 'broken into ... the political landscape of Germany with its unusual propaganda- and ruling-techniques', the textbook states, 'these kind of historical explanations are not sufficient'. They were more likely to 'cover up the historical backgrounds of the Nazi movement'. Since the 1960s, 'continuity' became the main notion among historical research.¹¹³⁴

In **HO (2007)** the question is asked: '*Gibt es eine Kollektivschuld der Deutschen*'? According to the textbook there are several matters concerning the Holocaust that have not been fully cleared (and perhaps never will be, despite the enormous amount of publications on the years 1933-1945), about individual and collective responsibilities, the antisemitic character of German society, and the legacy of the terrible events for future generations. Guilt, claims the textbook, is both a moral and legal notion. Legal guilt has to be proven in individual cases. The transfer of individual guilt to a collective people is 'plausible, but cannot be accepted'. Therefore, Daniel Goldhagen's 1996 publication in which he stated that antisemitism was a 'German project' and that the German population supported a 'eliminative antisemitism' that inevitably led to the Holocaust, was 'widely appreciated, but also criticized by academics'. In 1979 Margarete Mitscherlich wrote about what the population knew: 'participation and agreement of the population was necessary to be able to execute the mass murder'. But others claim that Hitler and Himmler were concerned about lacking antisemitic sentiments among Germans. Acts of sympathy with Jews were penalized in 1941. The Gestapo reported that the actions during the Kristallnacht were not at all popular. So answers to the question how antisemitic the Germans were, 'range from 'little' to Goldhagen's thesis'. 'Deportation (Nazis used the term 'Umsiedlung') and destruction are not the same, however': an ordinary German probably could not have imagined what actually took place in the east, and that there existed death factories. Sometimes rumors reached Germany, but it was difficult to believe.¹¹³⁵

ZuM (2006) also states that 'National Socialism today is history, but not bygone. 'Even when one does not bear a personal responsibility [for the Holocaust], the generations that were born after the war live in its shadow, whether they like it or not'. '*Nachgeborenen*' ('later generations') cannot escape this past, but 'perhaps this burden offers also a chance'.¹¹³⁶ And 'a large majority of the German population supported or accepted the National Socialist regime, at least until 1939'. 'The very limited action space of resistance movements was due to the decisive factor that National Socialism was widely popular among the German population at least until 1943'.¹¹³⁷ Here too Goldhagen's thesis is contested: 'one cannot claim that through existing antisemitism the destruction of the Jews was necessarily premeditated. It has turned out, however, that the lack of response of the German population was not because they did not know of the massacres in the east. Furthermore it has been demonstrated clearly that not only the SS but also civil and military institutions were involved in the genocide'.¹¹³⁸ Textbook **H/G (2010)** is different in this sense that it includes the French perspective as well. The authors contest Goldhagen's thesis that because of existing antisemitism the Holocaust had been premeditated. 'It has turned

¹¹³⁴ *Weimarer Republik und Nationalsozialismus* 1998, 127.

¹¹³⁵ *Horizonte III* 2007, 110-111.

¹¹³⁶ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 96.

¹¹³⁷ *Zeiten und Menschen* 2006, 129.

¹¹³⁸ *Histoire* 2010, 355.

out, however, that the lack of response of the German population was not because they did not know of the massacres in the east'. Furthermore it has been demonstrated clearly 'that not only the SS but also civil and military institutions became involved in the genocide'.¹¹³⁹ In chapter 18 (*Frankreich im Zweiten Weltkrieg*) ('France during WWII') there is a dossier on antisemitic persecutions in France. In October 1940 and June 1941 the Vichy-regime ordered the incarceration of a part of foreign Jews in camps. The Germans forced the French authorities from 1942 onwards to deport the Jews. The Vichy government supported these measures administratively and with the help of police forces. But 'a large part of the 350,000 Jews in France were supported by the French population, especially when it concerned children'. 'Nevertheless, some 75,000 Jews – one third of the Jewish population in France - were deported; only 2,500 survived'. In the sources, a different picture is portrayed: a Jewish boy who went to school for the first time with a star attached to his clothes was received the warmest welcome by his teacher and class mates ('it was then that I understood the Republic's devise 'Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité'), the French Jew Victor Fajnzilber did not have to wear the star because he was a war invalid and the Vichy government did not implement the obligation to wear a star in the south. The last source concerns the bishop of Toulouse protesting against the deportations. The letter was read in all churches of the diocese: 'Jews are people, terrible things happen to them, they are our brothers'. The last sentence is: 'France, you noble and generous country, I do not doubt it. You are not responsible for these horrors'.¹¹⁴⁰

Dutch textbooks published in the years between 1980 and 2010 only very slightly touch upon issues of individual or collective responsibility in their portrayal of WWII and the Holocaust. The persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands is either not or hardly discussed, and mostly attached to brave acts of resistance (university protests, the February Strike in 1941) or downplayed. Still, five out of ten textbooks persevere in their claim that Dutch civil servants 'were forced to' declare their non-Jewish origins in 1940, and only two textbooks openly display the fact that although this was a difficult decision, 99% of Dutch officials complied with the non-Aryan declaration because they were afraid of losing their jobs. Only one textbook (**SV 2009**) mentions involvement of the Dutch police and other officials in arresting and deporting Jews (in one sentence). There are three pages in the exercise book dealing with the extermination camps, headed by an introductory text claiming that 'the Dutch police was helpful at the raids', but none of the sources deal with the Dutch situation.¹¹⁴¹ As one of the other textbooks put it: 'in a totalitarian state apparently everything is possible; in a short period of time people can become inhuman'.¹¹⁴²

Through the cartoon in figure 10 (published in the chapter on the Netherlands 1914-1940 and originally printed in the Dutch fascist newspaper *Volk en Vaderland* in November 1939), the author of textbook **GvG (1981)** seems to demonstrate that initially the Dutch fascist party NSB was not antisemitic, but became increasingly so due to German influences. 'At first Jews could be a member of the party, but later, when the NSB was becoming more German-oriented, they were treated more in the German manner'.¹¹⁴³

¹¹³⁹ *Histoire* 2010, 355.

¹¹⁴⁰ *Histoire* 2010, 346-347.

¹¹⁴¹ *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 117.

¹¹⁴² *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 116.

¹¹⁴³ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 63.



Figure 5.10. Caption: 'Volk en Vaderland published this cartoon in November 1939. How did the N.S.B. initially stand towards Jews? Why did the viewpoint of Mussert's supporters change?' (Illustration by Maarten Meuldijk from <http://sargasso.nl/quote-du-jour-ironieteken/> (last consulted 24-11-2016). The original caption was: 'Dutch worker: 'We really can't use strangers, we hardly have work for our own people'. Emigrant: 'But do you really believe we've come to the Netherlands to work?''

Textbook **GvG (1981)** mentions Jewish refugees before the war. Between 1933 and 1945 800,000 Jews emigrated to free countries. It could have been several hundred thousand more if admission policies had been less strict. The textbook offers some examples: e.g. the unsuccessful 1938 Evian conference, where the Australian delegate apparently had said that 'since we have do not a racial problem, we do not wish to obtain one'. The author criticizes United States Congress and the British government because of their refusal to accept (extra) Jewish refugees in 1941 and 1943. The (restrictive) Dutch refugee policy before the war, however, is not mentioned in the paragraph.¹¹⁴⁴ Textbook **BTE (1984)** reveals nothing about Nazi measures against the Dutch Jews; no numbers, no deportations, no Westerbork, no death camps. However, the textbook does mention the major strikes, the resistance movement as well as the sufferings of the Dutch population: universities closed, many 'people' had to go into hiding, during the hunger winter 18,000 people died. Furthermore, 'thousands of Dutchmen died in prison camps in the East Indies due through Japanese terror'.¹¹⁴⁵ In a text source it is made clear that the Jewish Council approved by confirmation the obligation of wearing the Star of David in April/May 1942.¹¹⁴⁶ There are twelve sources on WWII and the Netherlands; only one is about possible collaboration and Dutch contribution to the persecution of Jews. An article in the legal newspaper *Telegraaf* from 17 May 1942 is the only sign that not all Dutch were resistance fighters: 'everyone...knows that the Jews are Germany's biggest enemies ... the fact of the occupation means that the Dutch population is required to act loyally towards the occupier, all the more because they consider and treat the Dutch people as friends'.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁴ *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 116-121 (the same comment repeated in *MeMo* TB 2001, 188).

¹¹⁴⁵ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 172-173.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 180.

¹¹⁴⁷ *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 177-180.

Textbook **VaG (1993)** mentions that in 1940 steps against the Jews in the Netherlands began (followed by a list of anti-Jewish measures). Finally, 'practically all Jews were brought to German extermination camps'. Most Dutch Jews were 'killed in Auschwitz in the gas chambers', of approximately 150,000 Dutch Jews some 90,000 have perished. Immediately, the authors ask: 'how did the Dutch respond?'. One would believe this was about the previous passage on the mass murder of their fellow countrymen, but it is not. This 'response' of the Dutch refers to the February Strike and other acts of resistance. The authors do not refer to or mention the Holocaust hereinafter.¹¹⁴⁸ In textbook **OW (1994)** the persecution of the Dutch Jews is not discussed, but a comparison with Dutch colonial history is made. The authors try to answer the question whether 'historical misdoings can be compared'. Is there something like 'collective guilt'? In the Netherlands there is some discussion on the 'possible Dutch war crimes' committed in Indonesia in the years between 1946-1949. The textbook refers to public discussions held in the media and other publications. Students are asked whether it is possible to compare German and Japanese 'war crimes' during WWII with 'misdoings' by the Americans in Vietnam or by the Dutch in Indonesia.¹¹⁴⁹

PH (1998) becomes slightly more critical: when Jews were boycotted from Dutch society, and being deported to Westerbork, the Dutch 'failed to protect their Jewish residents'. These Dutch Jews, who were 'descendants of seventeenth and eighteenth century immigrants who had emigrated to the relatively tolerant Republic', were an 'integrated part of Dutch society'. Nevertheless, 'more Jews were deported from our country' compared to other occupied countries. That was possible because 'solidarity with the oppressed fellow human beings often was limited to the own (pillarized) community'. The geographical isolation of the Netherlands was part of the problem as well. Furthermore, the SS regime was 'stricter than elsewhere'.¹¹⁵⁰ But: churches protested and students rebelled, but to no avail. During the February Strike Amsterdam workers protested. It was a short strike, but nevertheless 'unique because non-Jews massively and openly showed solidarity with their persecuted countrymen'.¹¹⁵¹

In textbook **SV (2000)** there is some reflection on the persecutions during the war years: in a paragraph on the aftermath of WWII, there are 2,5 pages on war remembrance activities in the Netherlands (the May 4 and 5, August 15, and February 25 celebrations), as well as on a number of activities concerning war memories (novels, institutes, historians, political parties, education). Nothing, however, refers to the Holocaust. In Germany, according to the textbook, 'all dark pages of German history are publicly analyzed, discussed and processed'. In other countries (like Austria, Japan, Switzerland and Sweden) 'this is not very well done'. In 1945, the people in the Netherlands 'wanted to forget about the war immediately'. Heroic stories were told, but there was no attention for traumatic experiences of resistance people and returned Jews. It is mentioned (in one sentence) that Jewish survivors 'had difficulties in getting back their possessions and became heavily frustrated'.¹¹⁵²

In **ME (2001)** it is explained how the image of the war has changed in the Netherlands. The 'resistance myth' has been corrected, and Presser had demonstrated already in 1965 that the majority of the Dutch 'were passive bystanders who did not resist the Germans'. De Jong also 'pictured an image of the Dutch that later was

¹¹⁴⁸ *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1989, 221-222.

¹¹⁴⁹ *Sporen* 1996, 91-92.

¹¹⁵⁰ *Pharos* HO 1998, 73.

¹¹⁵¹ *Pharos* HO 1998, 73.

¹¹⁵² *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 61-63.

considered to be too positive'.¹¹⁵³ Between 1933 and 1945 800,000 Jews emigrated to free countries. But immigration policies had been very strict: in the Netherlands, only after much public pressure in 1938, a mere 7,000 Jews had been admitted. For those refugees special camps were build, 'paid for by Dutch Jews'. The first of these camps was Westerbork.¹¹⁵⁴ Textbook **ME (2004)** confirms that 'many people and administrators in the Netherlands faced difficult choices'. Many accommodated and tried to hold out. In retrospect it is surprising to see how 'little opposition there was against the deportation of the Jews'. By adapting to the new situation one hoped to be able to continue with their lives.¹¹⁵⁵ However, the authors state that when the first Dutch Jews ... were brought to the extermination camps... some 25,000 Dutch Jews could go into hiding. 'They often received a warm welcome in families where one had decided to defy the Germans'.¹¹⁵⁶ In **SV (2009)**, through the web-based *SV-Digitaal*, students can study the attitude of the Dutch government and media towards German antisemitic measures.¹¹⁵⁷ *Sprekend Verleden* is the only Dutch textbook that mentions Dutch police forces assisting in the raids against Jews.¹¹⁵⁸ The persecution of the Dutch Jews 'were not met with great resistance'. The exception was the February Strike of 1941. On the supportwebsite *SV-Digitaal* there is a reconstruction of the strike.¹¹⁵⁹ Also included are discussions on moral attitudes of the population: how did mayors respond during the war, and how people 'navigated' between accommodation and resistance.¹¹⁶⁰ After the war, the German people have 'openly and admirably tried to cope with the past'. This has 'not (or hardly) been done by the Japanese or the Allies'. The German war crimes have been largely and openly discussed, only during the last years one begins to consider Allied war crimes too, and questionable attitudes of neutral states like Switzerland and Sweden.¹¹⁶¹

5.4 Conclusion

Compared to the period 1960-1980, the Holocaust received in the years between 1980 and 2010 much more detailed attention in history textbooks in North Rhine Westphalia and the Netherlands. Generally speaking, the persecution of the European Jews is no longer seen as the act of a few criminals but has become contextualized within a framework of historical, social and economic developments. Matters of responsibility are raised, but often in general and vague terms. Textbook authors still predominantly use Nazi terminology, which can be seen as an implicit way of downplaying the victim's perspective. So although in public and academic displays and debates in the 1980s the Holocaust had reached a new and different level of consciousness (see chapter 2), victims remain relatively absent in the textbooks. The broadcast of the NBC television series *Holocaust* has meant a lot for the development of European culture of Holocaust remembrance. Through a range of events (e.g. the Eichmann-trial in 1961, the 1965 parliamentary debates on the continuance of legal prosecutions of German war criminals (*Verjährungsdebatte*) and the Auschwitz- and Majdanek-trials in 1963-1965

¹¹⁵³ *MeMo* 2001, 197.

¹¹⁵⁴ *MeMo* 2001, 188.

¹¹⁵⁵ *MeMo* TB 2004, 339.

¹¹⁵⁶ *MeMo* TB 2004, 275.

¹¹⁵⁷ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 143.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 163.

¹¹⁵⁹ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 159.

¹¹⁶⁰ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 158.

¹¹⁶¹ *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 149.

and 1975-1981) the Nazi past was being critically assessed in West Germany. Much attention, however, went out to German perpetrators, not to the victims.¹¹⁶² In the textbooks, other victims are mentioned, but the problematic part of this is that each group has a different history with regard to the Holocaust and that the consequences of the persecutions differ per group.

In the Dutch textbooks, the Holocaust is reduced to antisemitism in a broad context. In general, Dutch textbooks have difficulties in positioning the Holocaust within the context of European history. Antisemitism is portrayed mainly as a National Socialist invention. The protracted antisemitic tradition in Europe or cyclical fluctuations in the social relations between Jews and gentiles, as well as the increasing nationalistic and racial character of National Socialist antisemitism, does not seem to be of much importance for Dutch textbook authors. Their German counterparts (especially in later years) succeed much better in offering students these perspectives on the precedents and circumstances that may have contributed to the Holocaust. This seems to reflect the relative distance of Dutch textbook authors to (recent) historical debates. Through the analysed textbooks, students cannot even begin to comprehend the circumstances that encouraged or discouraged particular actions or events regarding the Holocaust. Dutch textbooks continue to focus on stereotypical perpetrator-narratives. That means that they predominantly demonstrate Nazi activities and consider the Jews and other victims as objects of those actions, rather than as subjects for further study. Furthermore, the events in Eastern Europe do not play a significant part in the image presented. Textbooks continue to focus heavily on Auschwitz-Birkenau, for them being the ultimate symbol of the Holocaust. That means that Dutch textbooks hardly ever deal with contextualization, Jewish life before and after the war, with the other death camps, the *Einsatzgruppen* or Operation *Reinhard*.¹¹⁶³ In using iconographic sources, history textbooks from both countries use Nazi propaganda to illustrate antisemitism, but without providing those racist perspectives with a critical and historical introduction, contextualization or deconstruction. The danger of course is that students unwillingly come to think of these kinds of discriminatory and stereotypical portrayals of Jews as being historically acceptable. Instead of referring to Jews as a people with rich cultural backgrounds who were of considerable importance to German and Dutch pre-war society, in the analyzed textbooks Jews have become a 'faceless mass of victims', 'dehumanized and degraded' by the Nazis.¹¹⁶⁴

¹¹⁶² Dreisbach, 'Transatlantic Broadcasts: Holocaust in America and West Germany', 79.

¹¹⁶³ See also Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 28-29.

¹¹⁶⁴ Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 29.

6. Conclusion

With his famous 1966 lecture *Erziehung nach Auschwitz* ('Education after Auschwitz'), social scientist Theodor Adorno emphasized that young people could be taught to become responsible, assertive, autonomous and self-reflexive human beings. The prerequisite for any such condition, Adorno claimed, was to achieve an 'open and dignified collective insight in how all of this could have happened'. West German president Richard von Weizsäcker understood this well in 1985, when he stated in his 8 May-speech, commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war in Germany, that 'young people are not responsible for what happened, but they are responsible for what is made of it in history'. In both Germany and the Netherlands, nowadays no student leaves secondary education without having learned something about National Socialism and the Holocaust. In what way they are taught, what history texts and sources they study, to what extent and from what perspective is however another matter.

In this final chapter I will summarize and synthesize the main findings of my research, elaborated in chapters four and five, in relation to the theoretical concepts. At the end of this concluding chapter, I will offer recommendations for further research as well as for improvements of the quality of history textbooks.

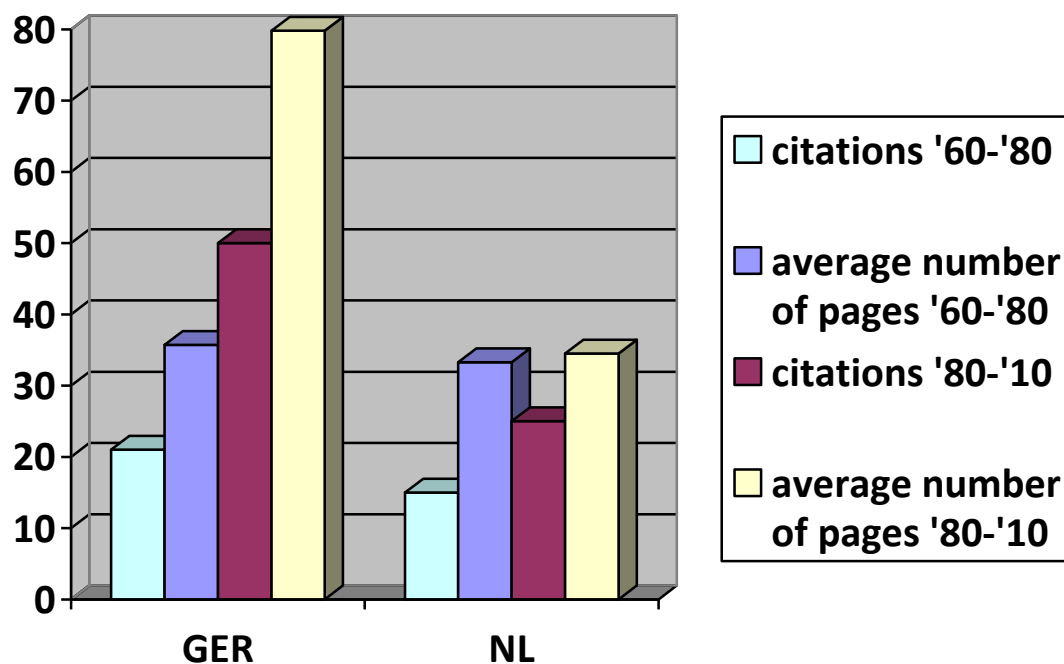
The main research question of this study is: which narrative plotlines of victimhood and agency about the Holocaust are present in German and Dutch history textbooks between 1960 and 2010, and how can possible changes in these plotlines be explained? The answer to this question is linked to three sub-questions about main similarities and differences between German and Dutch history textbooks concerning facts and contextualization of the Holocaust, possible changes in narrative plotlines related to academic debates on the Holocaust and possible changes in these plotlines related to didactical developments. Summarizing the results of my analysis of 32 (West) German and Dutch textbooks over a period of fifty years offers interesting perspectives.

A striking outcome of this study is the difference in authorship in this sample of history textbooks, for both research periods. Also, German textbooks refer more often to academic debates and consequently to competing opinions than Dutch textbooks (see table 6.1). There are at least two reasons for this: German textbooks are co-written by more scholars than Dutch ones, and all German schoolteachers are academics; in the Netherlands the number of academic school teachers is far lower than the number of teachers trained at secondary level teacher training colleges or so-called 'universities of applied sciences'. The French-German textbook *Histoire/Geschichte* for instance, first published in 2008, tries to convey to students that 'history' is always a construction of the past, and that 'there is no singular or true story'.¹¹⁶⁵ The use of academic spokesmen or researchers is essential for encouraging critical historical thinking among young people. If history textbooks are considered as intergenerational expressions of social consensus on historical discourses as well as representations of historical research, it seems that particularly Dutch textbooks, in their handling of National Socialism and the Holocaust, seriously lack affiliation with concurrent historical findings. If one of the purposes of history education is to engage students in historical thinking and learning – as many of the textbooks have stated – young people have to be provided with different

¹¹⁶⁵ *Histoire* 2010, 3.

opinions, contested views or opposing sources and take account of recognized and emerging scholarship.

Table 6.1: Absolute number of academic quotes on National Socialism and the Holocaust in German and Dutch textbooks 1960-2010 (compared to average number of pages on WWII and the Holocaust)



If we further look at the (West) German textbooks, we have seen that education about the Holocaust basically started in the early 1970s. Before that, as elsewhere in Europe, the topic was practically not included in the curriculum and most teachers were unwilling or unable to deal with this difficult subject. Many German educators, textbook authors and leading historians in post war West Germany had been actively engaged in WWII or National Socialism. Such circumstances have had negative implications for the transparency in public debates and education about the Nazi past (in particular with regard to the Holocaust). In West German textbooks of the 1960s and 1970s, National Socialism and the Holocaust are portrayed as an 'industrial accident', the German population being misguided by a small group of criminals led by an omnipotent Hitler. The Holocaust was scarcely mentioned. These 'early' textbooks have often been criticized for their repression of guilt, minimization of the committed crimes, apologetic behavior and sometimes outright sympathy for some aspects of National Socialist ideology, beliefs or measures. Indeed, as my analysis of the German textbooks between 1960 and 1980 shows, numerous aspects of German 'suffering' after WWII are stressed, as is the diminishment of some sort of collective responsibility. The main victims of WWII in the textbooks are not the Jews or others who suffered from Nazi terror, but the German population: soldiers in captivity, *Heimatvertriebenen*, *Trümmerfrauen*, victims of allied bombings, starving civilians and so on. These victims are discussed and shown in chapters about the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany, the others in chapters

about the Third Reich. This is what Zerubavel has called 'mnemonic cutting', the historical discontinuity between different episodes of the past. Students are consequently inveigled to consider National Socialism as something that is completed, being part of history, although the history of modern Germany suggested a continuity of suffering. Popp speaks of the 'second history of National Socialism', casting a shadow of suffering over the Federal Republic of Germany because it had failed politically in the past. 'The others' were victims of these political failures and are part of a history that was finished in 1945.¹¹⁶⁶ Considering the personal experiences of many German historians and textbook authors, this might not be unexpected. And it certainly explains the commotion around Fischer's publication during the first half of the 1960s, who had blatantly emphasized that the past and the present in German history were not 'separate entities', thereby suggesting historical continuity between the imperial and Nazi Germany.

During the 1960s and 1970s, new generations started to stress the importance of teaching about and dealing with National Socialism and the Holocaust. In order to counter revisionists and neo-Nazi groups, special emphasis was directed on the causes of the Holocaust: racism, antisemitism, prejudice, and more. From the 1980s onwards, the Holocaust became a prominent topic in West German education and textbooks. Especially after the broadcast of the NBC series *Holocaust* in 1979, intergenerational discussions on the Holocaust emerged. From then on, the Holocaust was 'everywhere'.¹¹⁶⁷ The Holocaust, begun as a footnote to WWII, had become a global historical event. It became a symbol of inhumanity, which led to a shift from distance and indifference to empathy and emotional identification.¹¹⁶⁸ Up until the present day, German society openly and sometimes painfully discussed and discusses different aspects of the Nazi past, the Wehrmacht debates perhaps being one of the most recent. As historian Christian Meier observed, the Germans have been reminded of Auschwitz so many times, that it has become an essential part of their self-image.¹¹⁶⁹

In recent years, the Holocaust has become a hugely important issue in German education, the polar opposite to the anathema that it used to be. As we can see in table 6.2 (below), the number of pages of pages in (West) German textbooks dedicated to WWII, National Socialism and the Holocaust has increased substantially over the years. Proportionally, the Holocaust has obtained a larger share in these chapters on the years between 1933 and 1945.

¹¹⁶⁶ Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 111-112.

¹¹⁶⁷ Broder, 'We invented the Holocaust!', 76-77.

¹¹⁶⁸ Assmann and Conrad, *Memory in a global age*, 110.

¹¹⁶⁹ In Broder, 'We invented the Holocaust!', 74.

Table 6.2: Average quantitative information in (West) German textbooks 1960-2010

Decades	Average Number of Pages on NS & WW2 per Textbook	Average Number of Pages on Holocaust per Textbook	Average Number of Illustrations on the Holocaust per Textbook	Average Number of Primary Sources on the Holocaust per Textbook
1960-1980	33,3 (11,6%)	2,2 (6,6%)	0,5	3,2
1980-2010	79,9 (20,3%)	13,1 (16,4%)	9,4	9,9

In terms of Holocaust victimhood, debates between particularists (claiming that the Holocaust is a strictly Jewish event and attempts to universalize the event are seen as diminishing its importance in Jewish history) and universalists (who include non-Jewish actors as Sinti and Roma, Soviets and Poles or homosexuals as victims of the Holocaust, and acknowledge that there are more historical examples of stereotypes, racism, mass-murder and mass-extirmination), may gradually be evolving into a compromise that can be acceptable to both. The German textbooks offer teachers and students combined approaches, by claiming that the Holocaust has set targets for the annihilation of one particular group (European Jewry) and that this involved the extermination of millions of others. Other than that, there were perpetrators, victims and bystanders in every social group: Jews, Poles, Germans, Nazis (see table 6.3).¹¹⁷⁰ The other side of this development is that political opponents of the Nazis (communists, social democrats, unions, churches) are increasingly being marginalized. In many textbooks, political and racial victims are located within Germany itself, and not within the occupied countries. In hardly any of the textbooks the millions of people who died in Eastern Europe because of resettlement operations are mentioned. And if they were, it seems to have been a tragic outcome of some sort of war event.¹¹⁷¹

¹¹⁷⁰ Riley, 'The Holocaust and Historical Empathy', 141-144.

¹¹⁷¹ Popp, 'Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch', 111-112.

Table 6.3: Perpetrators and non-Jewish victims in (West) German textbooks 1960-2010

Decades	Perpetrators	Non-Jewish Victims
1960-1980	Hitler (7) Himmler (5) National Socialism (3) Heydrich (2) SS (2) Eichmann (1) Streicher (1) Höß (1) SA (1) Gestapo (1)	Russians/Slavonic people (4) Political opponents in Germany (2) Gypsies (1) Handicapped (1) Clergy (1)
1980-2010	Hitler (11) Himmler (8) Heydrich (6) SS (4) Eichmann (3) Goebbels (3) Goering (3) Höß (2)	Russians/Poles/Slavonic people (9) Handicapped (6) Gypsies/Sinti and Roma (5) Anti-social persons (4) Homosexuals (4) Political opponents in Germany (3) Jehovah's witnesses (3) Forced laborers (1)

In Germany, in almost every state government bodies have to approve all textbooks for a certain level and a certain subject for that specific year. Although there seems to be less freedom than in the Netherlands, there is a close relationship between academics, politicians, schools and publishing companies. This mediation 'by a set of corporatist institutional arrangements' creates consensus in curricula development. In each federal state, curricula are revised and reviewed every ten years by a group of academics, teachers, representatives from teachers' unions, and the ministry. The new curricula are sent to over four hundred parties interested in giving possible advice. Several denominations are asked to reflect upon the curriculum; in later years also Jewish and Muslim organizations are invited to provide comments.¹¹⁷² This decision-making process– as well as the sometimes imposed educational reforms after WWII – has led to a wider contextualized, non-nationalist approach of German history in the textbooks. They are increasingly critically distant, avoiding or debating national myths sometimes by presenting students the tools to deconstruct those. The tone is generally pacifist and not patriotic. The textbooks waver between the historical burden of the past and the requisite of international trustworthiness for the future. Decades of dealing with National Socialism and the Holocaust have led to a systematic analysis of European antisemitism, offering students primary sources and academic insights on intentionalist and functionalist historiographical debates and factual rendering of the Holocaust from the early Nazi years through the actions of *Einsatzgruppen* and the extermination camps in the east. The term 'nation' is often negatively used. No wonder; say some, considering the fact that due to its recent past, 'innocent patriotism in Germany is not possible'.¹¹⁷³

In German textbooks published after 1980, the traditional unilinear *rise-fall-plotline* no longer dominates the narrative. Although there still seems to be a 'dramatic change of course' after 1945, the textbooks increasingly deal with the Nazi-past by

¹¹⁷² Hein and Selden, *Censoring History*, 141.

¹¹⁷³ Wenzeler, 'The Presentation of the Holocaust in German and English School History Textbooks', 113.

introducing historical continuities in German society, by focusing on broader and more diverse perpetrator and victim groups, and by featuring both the social accomplishment of dealing with the past as the ongoing responsibility of this *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. The textbooks thus demonstrate ‘zigzag’ narratives, that expose a combination of both upward (the recovery after 1945) and downward (the burden of a continuous presence of National Socialism) plotlines.¹¹⁷⁴ Being internationalist in character, modern German textbooks are aimed at a democratic and pluralistic future with respect for basic human rights. However, this doesn’t mean that the perspective is *transnational*. The concept of the nation in German textbooks has not disappeared. According to German researchers Lässig and Pohl, German textbooks are clearly written from the German historical perspective. Transnational, transcultural or transregional interpretations are hardly included. The detailed studies and the heritage of the Holocaust in most German textbooks is portrayed as an important instrument in teaching about human rights, pacifism and the negative consequences of nationalism.¹¹⁷⁵

The historical image presented in the German textbooks is the Western European perspective on the Holocaust. The tragic events in Eastern Europe do not play a significant part in Holocaust representations in the textbooks. Eastern Europe is relatively absent through the ‘western’ focus on Auschwitz, and through the conflation of the terms ‘concentration and extermination camps’. By visiting former concentration camps like Buchenwald or Sachsenhausen, students might get the idea that the Holocaust has happened in the proximity of Germany or Western Europe, and that the full impact of the Holocaust can be witnessed there. Furthermore, ‘Holocaust education’ has become a way of teaching about human rights issues, and students are incorporated in a ‘memory culture’, in which they should ‘remember’ the victims. Therefore, the danger is that the historical dimension of the Holocaust is being neglected. The normative dimension of ‘Holocaust education’ seems to be dominating compared to the factual representation. The Holocaust thus has become decontextualized and turned into a moral symbol of evil, doused with a sauce of civil rights education. Notwithstanding the best of intentions, what they should do is historically analyze, judge and critically classify the Holocaust in history. Students could learn to understand that the Holocaust can both be seen as historical singularity as well as the result of modern civilization, at least according to Zygmunt Baumann’s theories on modernity.¹¹⁷⁶

In most of the Dutch history textbooks that I have analyzed from the period 1960-2010, narratives of the Holocaust ignore the complexity of this main historical event in recent past. Factual renditions are largely inaccurate, the historical context of Judaism is completely absent and the ‘perpetrator narrative’ is in most textbooks still the most dominant perspective on the Holocaust. In the textbooks, perpetrators continue to be a small ideological elite within the SS or other Nazi organizations. Yet the complicity of the German *Wehrmacht* and police forces, of other accomplices in the occupied countries, of moderate National Socialists and even of ordinary Germans has been demonstrated a long time ago.¹¹⁷⁷ In most cases, the Holocaust is seen as a by-product of WWII, an event in itself but not as the most tragic part of Jewish life and culture in Europe. The richness of Jewish culture and the difficulties in the long-lasting relation between Jews and non-

¹¹⁷⁴ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 18-19.

¹¹⁷⁵ Lässig and Pohl, ‘History textbooks and historical scholarship in Germany’, 129.

¹¹⁷⁶ Popp, ‘Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Schulbuch’, 103-104.

¹¹⁷⁷ See for instance Browning, *Ordinary Men*; Friedländer, *The Years of Extermination*; Longerich, *Holocaust*; Snyder, *Bloodlands* and Welzer, Welzer, *Daders*.

Jews in the Netherlands is mostly marginalized or not mentioned at all. Spatial extent dedicated to the status and persecutions of Dutch Jews has hardly increased since the 1960s (see table 6.4). Dutch society after 1945 was being reconstructed and entangled into the Cold War. The contradistinction to a new form of totalitarianism or the celebration of the heroic 'active' victims offered significant value to this resurrection of the nation. The Dutch continued to witness themselves as victims of the German occupation. It was not until the 1980s that the passive victims, in particular the Jews, gradually obtained more attention in public commemorations.¹¹⁷⁸ In the textbooks however, representations of the Holocaust basically remain incomplete, unmethodical and serving the national narrative.

Table 6.4: Average quantitative information in Dutch textbooks 1960-2010

Decades	Average Number of Pages on NS & WW2 per textbook	Average Number of Pages on Holocaust per textbook	Average Number of Pages on the Holocaust in NL per textbook	Average Number of Illustrations on the Holocaust per textbook	Average Number of Primary Sources on the Holocaust per textbook
1960-1980	35,8 (8,7%)	1,2 (3,4%)	0,6	0,7	1,4
1980-2010	34,5 (12,6%)	3,2 (9,2%)	0,63	8,5	6,8

Through the prevalence of the national perspective in history textbooks, serving political issues or moral goals, the *sacrificium* is present and highly celebrated in the Dutch textbooks, whereas the *victima* are largely absent.¹¹⁷⁹ In other words, in Dutch textbooks published between 1960 and 2010, perpetrators have a 'face', but the victims haven't. Antisemitism is described exclusively as a German phenomenon. From the textbooks one seems to get the impression that, even in retrospect, the persecution of the Jews during WWII was a 'Jewish matter', seen and witnessed by non-Jews from a distance.¹¹⁸⁰ This does not change much over the years: in a 1960 textbook the author, who himself was a Bergen-Belsen survivor, spends exactly two sentences on the Holocaust. In a chapter on WWII in the Netherlands from a 1979 textbook it is stated that the 'Dutch suffered tremendously: under German rule economic deprivation and oppression were horrendous, as was the hunger winter of 1944'. Yet, not a word is spent on the persecutions of the Jewish people or the deportations from the Netherlands.¹¹⁸¹ In the 2009 textbook only thirty-two lines are dedicated to the persecutions of the Jews.¹¹⁸² Only one of the Dutch textbooks (from 2009) mentions the participation of Dutch policemen in the deportation of Jews.¹¹⁸³ On average, in the twenty Dutch textbooks between 1960 and 2010, eight lines per textbook are dedicated to the persecution of Jews in the Netherlands. Half of the textbooks persist in their claim that Dutch civil servants 'were forced to' declare their non-Jewish origins in 1940, and only two textbooks openly display the fact that although this was a difficult decision, 99% of Dutch officials complied with the non-Aryan declaration because they were afraid of

¹¹⁷⁸ See I.K.J. Raaijmakers, *De Stille en de Storm: 4 en 5 mei sinds 1945* (Maastricht 2014), passim.

¹¹⁷⁹ Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit*, 72-80 and Withuis and Mooij (eds.), *The Politics of War Trauma*, 197-199.

¹¹⁸⁰ See also De Haan, *Na de ondergang*, 32-33 and 41-45.

¹¹⁸¹ *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 376.

¹¹⁸² *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 159.

¹¹⁸³ *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 117.

losing their jobs or other repercussions. If there is any reference being made to the persecutions, it is through highlighting Dutch resistance against them. In other words: in the textbooks national history prevails over Jewish suffering: instead of discussing what actually happened to the Jews in the Netherlands after 1941, thirteen out of seventeen textbooks seize the opportunity to demonstrate national concordance by referring to three major strikes during the war, protests from Leyden University, or the condemnations by the churches.¹¹⁸⁴

The persecution of the Jews, as one of the textbooks put it in 1972, ‘was not so much about the Jews, but here the centuries long tradition of tolerance was at stake’.¹¹⁸⁵ How the genocide took place, what life was like in the camps, how people actually felt and how they tried to live their lives before or after being deported, how life was for the survivors; it is basically all omitted from the textbooks. In general, Dutch textbooks don’t provide any information on what actually happened, where it happened, or how it happened. Auschwitz-Birkenau is the central frame of reference; other camps are more or less neglected. This is strange, because in Sobibór for example over 34,000 Dutch Jews were murdered. In all twenty Dutch schoolbooks that I have analysed, there is only one textbook (published in 2009) that raises the question how these crimes could have been committed in Europe in the first place.¹¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, one would expect some more detailed information on the low survival rate of the Jews in the Netherlands.

In the textbooks from the Netherlands, the Holocaust is portrayed as a horrible chapter in *German* history, and not as part of Jewish or Dutch history. Hardly any of the perpetrators or victims present in the textbooks represent the persecutions in the Netherlands (see table 6.5), as if these persecutions were a matter between Jews and Germans. Many of the Dutch textbooks suggest a continuity of antisemitism and authoritarianism in German history, by offering a longitudinal approach of Germany history from 1870 until 1945. Within the context of WWII and the Holocaust, the Dutch textbooks seem to present two opposing temporal frameworks, providing a diachronic approach of German history, and a synchronic approach of the history of the Netherlands. The ‘war’ was an aberration of Dutch normalcy; that kind of synchronic narratives creates more temporal distance and presents the past as a separate, closed-off period in time, free from any connections with the present.¹¹⁸⁷

This might explain why Jewish victims are mainly collectively mentioned, as a group of victims without having lives, culture or post-war experiences. The ‘Jew’ was and in a certain sense herewith remains the ‘other’, even if this ‘other’ was a neighbor, business partner or fellow countryman. The persecution and attempts to exterminate the Jews thus has become the only thing that students learn from the textbooks on Jews and Judaism.¹¹⁸⁸ ‘Jews’ appear in a consistent and uniform dimension, namely almost exclusively as a collective group. This group is thematically connected to only one event: the Holocaust. From the textbooks therefore, students get the impression that Jews are a homogeneous group of victims and not real ‘people’ with lives, families, history and

¹¹⁸⁴ See *Schakels* 1960, 280, *De Mens* 1968, 190-192, *Mensen en Machten* 1971, 176 and 1974, 175, *Geschiedenis in Onderwerpen* 1979, 396, *Geschiedenis van Gisteren* 1981, 133, *Beeld van de Twintigste Eeuw* 1984, 172, *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* TB 1989, 221-222, *Op weg naar 2000*, 167, *Pharos* HO 1998, 73, *Sprekend Verleden* 2000, 55-56, *MeMo* 2001, 194-195, *MeMo* TB 2004, 274, *Sprekend Verleden* TB 2009, 159.

¹¹⁸⁵ *Wereld in Wording* 1972, 146.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Sprekend Verleden* EB 2009, 114-115.

¹¹⁸⁷ De Bruijn, *Bridges to the Past*, 35.

¹¹⁸⁸ Although most of the textbooks deal with the state of Israel within the context of ‘The Middle East’, there is hardly any information on Jewish culture or the immediate connection with the Holocaust.

culture. According to Richard Krieger, the first director of the USHMM in Washington, the most important lesson that his museum provides is the failure of the bystanders: they could have prevented or stopped the crime, but became accomplices through their passivity.¹¹⁸⁹ In this context also, Dutch history textbooks have yet to be brought up to standard. Bystanders are almost completely absent. Other victims are mentioned, but not contextualized (see table 6.5). In all but one of the textbooks, the context of European antisemitism is disregarded. Antisemitism in the Netherlands is not mentioned at all. Since the 1990s, events that took place in Eastern Europe have been essential parts of general Holocaust research. That means that the ‘Holocaust by Bullets’, mass shootings in Poland and the Soviet Union as well as the very existence of and course of events in extermination camps like Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibór and Treblinka has progressed to considerable attention of Holocaust researchers. Although one could argue that in later textbooks some things have changed, Auschwitz-Birkenau has remained the symbolic place of attention in the Dutch textbooks. Most of the victims, however, were Jews and other population groups from Eastern Europe. The historical image presented here therefore is the limited western perspective on the Holocaust.

Table 6.5: Perpetrators and non-Jewish victims in Dutch textbooks 1960-2010

Decades	Perpetrators	Non-Jewish Victims
1960-1980	Hitler (15) Himmler (8) Eichmann (3) Stroop (2) Seyß-Inquart (2) Goebbels (1) Rosenberg (1)	Russians/Slavic people (3) Gypsies (1) handicapped (1)
1980-2010	Hitler (17) Himmler (10) Heydrich (3) Eichmann (3) Höß (2) Streicher (2) Rauter (2)	Soviets/Poles/Slavonic people (8) Gypsies (8) Political opponents in Germany (5) Homosexuals (4) Handicapped (3) Jehovah’s witnesses (2) Freemasons (1) A-social persons (1)

The only Jewish victim present as a person in the Dutch textbooks throughout the period of fifty years is Anne Frank. However, her family or migration background is basically ignored, as are her German and Jewish roots. That the Frank family was betrayed is sometimes mentioned, yet not commented upon. Accordingly, Anne Frank seems to serve more as the incarnation of Dutch innocence than as the personification of Jewish victimhood. The underlying narrative template describing the Dutch situation during WWII reflects the vision of the Netherlands as a tolerant, innocuous and peaceful society at the mercy of great powers - the Dutch lived in a neutral and relatively prosperous setting, being tolerant and multi-layered, liberal and democratic, until they got brutally attacked by an aggressor who destroyed beautiful cities and occupied and plundered the

¹¹⁸⁹ Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 245.

country. The Dutch tried to resist but were outnumbered and therefore relatively defenseless and could not prevent the foreign oppressor from committing more atrocities. In the end, the Dutch were liberated by or with the help of other great powers.¹¹⁹⁰ This view basically leads to oversimplification of the developments in general and the Holocaust in particular and hardly touches upon the complexity, multiperspectivity and morality of multilayered events such as WWII or the Holocaust. Dutch history textbooks instead still provide the nation with a 'usable past', which usually means that they do not enhance oppositional reading, or allow for different and competing perspectives, and critical thought or textual reflection. In most of the Dutch textbooks that I have analyzed, one finds an authoritative tone; representations of the past are not open to discussion. So instead of becoming 'history textbooks', they convey template-based collective memories, and are used as educational instruments that serve as 'temples' for the collective, as opposed to approaching the past in a more historical way by offering a platform for open historical exploration and debate.¹¹⁹¹ Textbooks in this sense, can be called 'weapons of mass instruction'.¹¹⁹²

The question, of course is, why Dutch textbooks so obviously lack multiple perspectives in relation to WWII representations? In Dutch collective memory the 'resistance-myth' of collective heroism has long been replaced by the myth of the 'guilty bystander'. It now is widely known that many Dutch people worked in support of the German war-effort, that most Dutch civil servants complied with German orders, and that many ordinary citizens mostly were 'passive bystanders' and that some were actively engaged in the persecution of Jews. During WWII, the Netherlands had been 'a country of deportations', where antisemitism existed before and after the war, where most people were largely indifferent to the fate of the Jews, 'looked the other way', or were the 'best student in the Germanic class'.¹¹⁹³ Dutch history textbooks, however, continue to transmit a nation that considers itself as victim of repression, thereby nationally embedding WWII and the Holocaust in contrast to the so-called 'nation of perpetrators'. As Dutch historian Boterman has put it, Dutch identity remains very much connected to notions of proximity and distance towards Germany. Many believe that Dutch national identity will be at risk if one would renounce one's anti-German sentiments. It is therefore essential, according to Boterman, to historicize the war years.¹¹⁹⁴ Considering the current state of affairs this seems unlikely to happen: the National Committee for 4 and 5 May (commemorating WWII victims) has claimed that German soldiers cannot be included in the official remembrance ceremonies¹¹⁹⁵, while plans for commemorating a German soldier who died while saving the life of two young Dutch children, were blocked by the local council in Goirle and by large parts of the community because of 'public sensitivities'. The memorial statue is now in the private garden of one of the surviving children.¹¹⁹⁶

In short, Dutch textbooks continue to opt for a one-sided view of the Holocaust, of the history of the Netherlands during WWII as well as of twentieth century Jewish

¹¹⁹⁰ Boterman, *Duitsland als Nederlands probleem*, 13-14.

¹¹⁹¹ Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, 42.

¹¹⁹² Gatto, *Weapons of Mass Instruction* (Gabriola Island, 2010).

¹¹⁹³ Van der Boom, 'Wij weten niets van hun lot', 9-14.

¹¹⁹⁴ Boterman, *Duitsland als Nederlands probleem*, 28 and <http://www.volkskrant.nl/archief/duitsland-als-nederlands-probleem~a447920/> (last consulted 16-8-16).

¹¹⁹⁵ <http://www.4en5mei.nl/herdenken-en-vieren/herdenken/veelgestelde-vragen-over-herdenken/wie-herdenken-we/wat-is-het-memorandum> (last consulted 16-8-16).

¹¹⁹⁶ <http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/beeld-van-goeie-duitser-is-er-maar-niet-in-goirle~a911686/> (last consulted 16-8-16).

history. Fall-rise-plotlines continue to dominate the textbooks. The 'new beginning' in the Netherlands after WWII, in the words of Zerubavel, creates a return to traditional Dutch identity which seems to make it not essential to deal with troublesome aspects of that past.¹¹⁹⁷ In this context, Dutch textbooks tend to 'externalize' the Holocaust, thereby basically neglecting Dutch involvement. Bystanders are ignored or viewed as difficult reminders of a peaceful history.¹¹⁹⁸ Exactly this absence of multiperspectivity and contextualization, as well as the ongoing focus on 'perpetrator-narratives' seem to enhance rather than diminish teachers' difficulties with regard to teaching about the Holocaust in the Netherlands. Although several surveys have indicated that WWII still is a popular subject in history education in the Netherlands, many teachers feel that it is increasingly difficult to teach specifically about the Holocaust. Some multicultural problems occurred in class room context when dealing with this topic; some students even refused to listen to the teacher, denied (aspects of) the Holocaust or implied parallels with Israeli politics towards Palestinians.¹¹⁹⁹ To my knowledge, there is no similar survey among German teachers.

As we have seen from the vocabulary overview in chapters 4 and 5, the language of the perpetrators is still used in **textbooks from both countries**, describing the events leading up to and during the Holocaust. The use of such words without proper context is of course problematic: *Vernichtung, Endlösung, Sonderbehandlung, Jüdische Rasse, Asoziale, Berufsverbrecher, Erbkrankte, Zigeuner, Rasseschänder* are key notions in understanding both Nazi ideology as well as the Holocaust. Without further or sufficient explanation, however, these notions are at best easily misunderstood or misconstrued, and at worst unconsciously absorbed as prolonged expressions of Nazi ideology. In relation to responsibility for the persecutions, the used language in the textbooks is often passive: Jews *were* isolated, they *were* forced to wear the yellow star of David, they *were* expelled from public life. It therefore does not become clear who actually could be held accountable for these crimes. In this sense, basic questions are not being fully answered in German and Dutch textbooks: who was responsible for the deportations and mass murder, why did so many people remain on the sidelines of events, in what circumstances did the victims live through their last days? It is striking to see that the process of discrimination, segregation and deportation of the Jews since 1933 in Germany is been elaborately described, leading up to the mass murders in the camps. The development of the actual genocide and the repercussions for the personale lives of the victims, however, is basically absent from the textbooks. Auschwitz-Birkenau is the central frame of reference; other camps are more or less neglected. This is in more than one reason problematic. First of all, most of the victims were Jews from Eastern Europe, and over 34,000 Dutch Jews were murdered in Sobibór.¹²⁰⁰ Furthermore, the mass executions by the *Einsatzgruppen* are not portrayed as the beginning of the Holocaust.

Explaining the horrors of the Holocaust to young people is not easy; just 'telling one story' is not enough. Nowadays, WWII and the Holocaust have become history to many youngsters; they cannot imagine how modern societies can be capable of something so horrific as the planned extermination of millions of people. New didactics are therefore needed in order to accomplish historical and pedagogical goals like

¹¹⁹⁷ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 89-92.

¹¹⁹⁸ Hondius, *Oorlogslessen*, 42-44.

¹¹⁹⁹ http://www.researchned.nl/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/ELS017_016-OORLOGSONDERW.pdf (last consulted 1-8-16).

¹²⁰⁰ See Jules Schelvis, *Vernietigingskamp Sobibor* (Amsterdam 2008).

‘empathy’ with the victims. Then, students will be able to get emotionally involved.¹²⁰¹ The increasing visualization of the Holocaust in German and Dutch textbooks can be seen as a way of reaching such empathy. Nevertheless, some illustrations are apparently used to shock students instead of educating them.

Table 6.6: Most used illustrations on antisemitism and the Holocaust in (West) German and Dutch textbooks 1960-2010

German Textbooks (N=15)	Dutch Textbooks (N=17)
Maps of camps in Europe (11)	<i>Deutsche kauft nicht bei Juden</i> or other boycott measures 1933-1934 (13)
Camp Life (mainly prisoners in barracks) (10)	Bodies of camp inmates (10)
Auschwitz or Birkenau gates or photos from the Auschwitz Album of the arrival of Hungarian Jews in Birkenau (9)	Camp Life (mainly prisoners in barracks) (8)
Antisemitic propaganda from magazines or children’s books (7)	Antisemitic propaganda from magazines or children’s books (7)
<i>Deutsche kauft nicht bei Juden</i> or other boycott measures 1933-1934 (7)	The Warsaw boy from the Stroop-report (7)
The Warsaw boy from the Stroop-report (7)	Pictures taken after the liberation of camps (mainly Buchenwald) (6)

As we can see in table 6.6, the basic equipment of the examined textbooks show similar pictures: the boycott of Jewish businesses, antisemitic propaganda, Jews in camps, the little boy in Warsaw, the arrival of Hungarian Jews in Birkenau in 1944. These iconographical sources on the Holocaust are still portraying the victims as defenseless and helpless people. That there was such a thing as (Jewish) resistance, is not included in any of the textbooks.

Such canonization of Holocaust illustrations is problematic in two senses: first, textbook users can get the impression that the particular meaning of significance of these familiar images can be easily understood, and secondly students are not challenged to interpret these icons other than passively.¹²⁰² The iconographic sources in the textbooks reproduce Nazi imagery in order to illustrate antisemitism, but without proper introduction or methods of deconstruction. This overview also shows the Auschwitz-centered approach of the German and Dutch textbooks, basically neglecting ‘Eastern Europe’ from a visual perspective. Secondly, only thirteen out of eighty-one illustrations in the Dutch textbooks specifically deal with the persecution of the Dutch Jews (16%). Thirdly, in the Dutch textbooks there is no visual information about concentration camps in the Netherlands, seemingly reflecting limited attention for the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands. In contrast to the (West) German textbooks, however, Dutch textbooks explicitly incorporate images of mass murder through photos of corpses in the death camps after liberation.

In short, the narrative structure in the sample of German textbooks between 1960 and 2010 demonstrate a rise-fall plotline, in the sense that a culturally civilized nation was turned into a murderous regime. In the first generation of textbooks, this

¹²⁰¹ Pingel, ‘From Evasion to a Crucial Tool’, 138-153.

¹²⁰² Sandkühler, ‘Nach Stockholm’, 70-71 and Foster and Burgess, *Problematic Portrayals*, 33.

process of deterioration was exemplified by stressing mythical notions about *Stunde Null*, German victimhood and minimizing attention for and offering intentionalist interpretations of the Holocaust. In later textbooks, the rise-and-fall-narrative has taken the shape of assuming collective responsibility for the crimes that were committed, placing a heavy burden on German society, including education. In the Dutch textbooks, the fall-and-rise-narrative is perseverant in the entire period of this research. As the main victim of oppression and occupation, the general historical outlook of the Dutch nation presented by the textbooks is that of a 'progressive ascent from savagery to civilization'.¹²⁰³ Although many academic studies and public commemorations have demonstrated other aspects of this history, the plotline is still very much persistent in Holocaust narratives in history textbooks from the Netherlands.

I will now provide two recommendations about history textbook writing and one about textbook research. My first recommendation deals with enhancing closer relationships between textbooks authors, publishing companies and academic researchers. In both countries, Holocaust narratives in history textbooks still lack historical contextualization as well as important historical details (like the circumstances under which the Nazi party came to power, Jewish life before and after the war, the rise of antisemitism in Europe, and so on). Textbooks – especially in the Netherlands – continue to provide simple answers to complex questions, simplifying responsibility issues or portraying homogenous perpetrator and victim groups. The chronological and geographical frameworks are constrained, and the relationship with WWII is sometimes absent. So instead of challenging myths and misconceptions, many textbooks continue to convey perpetrator-oriented narratives and a canonization of illustrations and sources. Textbooks in the Netherlands – compared to their German counterparts – hardly take account of recognized and emerging scholarship. They have changed didactically, but only faintly in content. This poses the important question who, in a free textbook market, is responsible for the quality of the textbooks? Publishing companies often have other interests: textbooks are commodities that need selling. This means that in average, the quality of the didactical character or the content of the textbook is subsidiary to its possible economic success.¹²⁰⁴ My recommendation therefore is to create a platform consisting of teachers, textbook authors or editors, academics and curriculum designers in order to supervise and safeguard the content and didactic quality of history textbooks.

A second recommendation has to do with the necessary deconstruction of national narratives through offering students multiple perspectives and conflicting opinions. Nonetheless, with recent deficiencies in 'nation building' in Western Europe, attributed to processes such as the lack of integration by non-European immigrants, European unification or globalization in general, the 'practical functions of history education' seem to have reappeared.¹²⁰⁵ Many believe that nations should incorporate homogeneous cultural communities, and that social cohesion and cultural unity of the nation is being endangered through processes of migration or globalization.¹²⁰⁶ The encouragement of loyal citizenship through mandatory history schooling, central examinations, institutions such as museums and commemorative organizations, and the offering of an

¹²⁰³ Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 15.

¹²⁰⁴ Hasberg, 'Closed or Broken Narrations?', 126.

¹²⁰⁵ Berger and Lorenz, 'National Narratives and their 'Others'', 3.

¹²⁰⁶ Grever, 'Fear of Plurality', 45.

official version of history seems to have become ubiquitous.¹²⁰⁷ Through history education states try to establish or strengthen national identity and loyal citizenship. Historical canons have emerged in numerous countries, regions and cities. Yet such 'human values' were also present in the highly civilized German state before 1933, and still the Holocaust occurred. Insight into the fragility of human civilization should therefore be a matter of concern in history education.¹²⁰⁸ In general, many textbooks have difficulties in positioning WWII and the Holocaust as an international set of events, within the context of European or western history.

Thirdly, I would like to suggest that more research needs to be done on the use of history textbooks in education, especially about teaching subjects as the Holocaust. We still know very little about to what extent and how teachers and students deal with textbooks as instruments of education and learning. In this sense, the research written under the auspices of the University College London (UCL) Centre for Holocaust Education, has paved the way. This project studied secondary school teachers' experience of and attitudes towards teaching about the Holocaust in England.¹²⁰⁹ I hope that such research will be done within an international context with the aim of advancing and understanding Holocaust education internationally.

¹²⁰⁷ Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, 68-69.

¹²⁰⁸ Pingel, 'From Evasion to a Crucial Tool', 131-153.

¹²⁰⁹ See <http://www.holocausteducation.org.uk/research/publications/teaching-holocaust/>.

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Appendix 1: Analytical Instrument History Textbook Representations of the Holocaust

1 General Information

1.1 Textbook information

Title	
Author(s)	
Publishing company	
Place and year of the first edition	
Edition and year of this book	
Target group	
Type of book: pictures, teacher's guide, workbook, test material	
Comments of the author(s): how to use this textbook, statement about the content, the design, didactics, purpose of history education etc.	
What values and attitudes does the book try to transfer, with regards to authority, institutions, traditions, rules, principles, ideologies?	
Biographical information about the author(s)	

1.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Most frequently used names of perpetrators and victims in relation to the Holocaust?	
Use of other authors: spokesman or quotations? Whom? Which sentences? How long?	
What events and processes are covered with regard to the Holocaust?	
In what ways are outcomes of the historical debate conveyed?	
In what ways (aspects) of popular historical culture are conveyed?	

1.3 Time and geographical scope

What periodization is used? (years/centuries and names?); when does the 'story' begin, when does it end?	
To what extent does textbooks offer multiple perspectives on the Holocaust?	
To whom does the Holocaust 'belong'?	
Is the Holocaust portrayed as part of Jewish history?	
Where is the Holocaust located geographically?	
Is there a global or transnational perspective, perpetrators, victims, bystanders?	
Is there national reflection or a multinational or multi-perspective approach?	
Whose story is told, which groups receive attention, which don't?	
Is some group or person being marginalized?	
Does the author link the past with the present? Why and how?	
According to the author(s), what is the motor of history? What causes the change and continuity?	
Matter of uniqueness: is the Holocaust compared with other	

genocides?	
Is the Holocaust dislocated from time and space? Has it become a Trauma Symbol instead of a War Crime?	

1.4 Contextualization and explanation

Explanatory models: the Holocaust as part of a totalitarian system, 'intentionalist' or 'functionalist' models, sociological explanations (product of modern society, role of bureaucracy), mono-causality or multi-causality schedules?	
Does the text show the Holocaust as a severe outburst of antisemitism or a systematic and efficient bureaucratic operation?	

1.5 Quantitative Aspects of the Textbook and Didactics

Number of Pages on National-Socialism and WW2	
Number of Pages on Holocaust (Percentages of pages on NS & WW2)	
Number of Pages on Holocaust in The Netherlands / Germany	
Images of the Holocaust	
How are statistics used? Do they add a meaningful dimension to the experience of human suffering?	
To what extent can students formulate judgments based on the presentation of evidence?	
To what extent does the textbook invite the use of critical skills of investigation and inquiry?	
Is contradictory evidence used or included?	
What reference is made to historical research in the text?	
Do the texts invite students to oppositional reading?	
Are students invited and stimulated to perform personal attitudes and judgments towards the Holocaust?	
How are narrative, source materials and pictorial evidence combined to induce feelings of empathy among students?	

2 Perpetrator and Bystander narratives

2.1 Contextualization and explanation

Which persons/actors play an active key-role and how are they portrayed?	
Is there an antisemitic or racist continuity in Dutch/German history?	

2.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Does the book refer to perpetrators, bystanders or other agents (and if yes, how)?	
Who was responsible for the Holocaust?	
References to collective German/Dutch guilt	
References to individual responsibility/accountability	
Does the book use 'distancing techniques' in order to escape collective guilt issues (stressing Dutch resistance against antisemitic measures, minimizing differences between victims, self-victimization)	

or comparing victims with other sufferings like <i>Heimatvertriebenen</i> , German or Dutch civilians)?	
In what ways are outcomes of the historical debate conveyed?	

2.3 Linguistic analysis

What words, names, terminology and controversies with regard to culpability and the Holocaust are used?	
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3 Victim narratives

3.1 Contextualization and explanation

Most frequently used names in relation to victimhood	
Are victims ('Jews', 'gypsies' etc.) or bystanders ('local population', 'technicians', etc.) specifically mentioned? How?	

3.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Which persons/actors play an active key-role and how are they portrayed?	
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3.3 Linguistic analysis

What words, names, terminology and controversies on the Holocaust are used?	
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Appendix 2: Analytical Instrument Dutch Textbook *Schakels met het Voorgeslacht* (1960)

1 General Information

1.1 Textbook information

Title	Schakels met het Voorgeslacht. Beknopt Leerboek voor de Algemene en vaderlandse Geschiedenis voor het VHMO. Deel 2 Van het einde der 18 ^e eeuw tot heden.
Author	Dr. J. Meijer
Publishing company	J.M. Meulenhoff
Place and year of the first edition	Amsterdam 1960
Edition and year of this book	First edition 1960
Target group	VHMO: VHMO is a collective term referring to education before the reorganizational <i>Mammoetwet</i> of 1968. Some related forms of secondary education in the Netherlands were meant by VHMO. This abbreviation stands for Higher Preparatory and Secondary Schools, a category consisting of gymnasium, lyceum, HBS and MMS. With the introduction of the Education Act in 1968, the VHMO was succeeded by schools in VWO (Preparatory Academic Education).
Type of book: pages, pictures, teacher's guide, workbook, test material etc.	348, black and white, illustrations and maps. No exercises. Citations are acknowledged.
Comments of the author(s): how to use this textbook, statement about the content, the design, didactics, purpose of history education etc.	Appendices are included on the United Nations, Dutch political parties and on possibilities of doing historical research (National Archives, National Library, several institutions on historical research.
What values and attitudes does the book try to transfer, with regards to authority, institutions, traditions, rules, principles, ideologies?	No information
Biographical information about the author(s)	According to the textbook, Jaap or Jakob Meijer was teacher at the Coornhert Lyceum in Haarlem. Meijer was a Dutch poet, Jewish historian and essayist (1912 -1993) and father of well-known journalist Ischa Meijer. Jaap Meijer studied history and later worked as a teacher at the Jewish Lyceum in Amsterdam. Meijer played a role in the Zionist youth movement. Promotion followed in 1941 on Isaac da Costa's road to Christianity. Meijer survived with wife and son in concentration camp Bergen-Belsen. After the war he emigrated to Surinam, where he was a rabbi. After his return to the Netherlands, he wrote a large number of studies on Dutch Jews.

1.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Most frequently used names of perpetrators and victims in relation to the Holocaust?	Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg
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Use of other authors: spokesman or quotations? Whom? Which sentences? How long?	On the 'struggle against fascism' Dutch essayist Menno ter Braak is quoted, who, according to the authors saw through Mussolini. The quote, however, is about the racial theories of Hitler, which were even 'worse and more unscientific' than Gobineau's theories and Chamberlain's 'humbug'. Hitler's schematic racial theories are 'blind' and 'fanatic', the style of <i>Mein Kampf</i> is vulgar, we deal here with a 'scatterbrain', 'the genius of whom needs to be sought in the exploitation of resentment'.
What events and processes are covered with regard to the Holocaust?	Already in 1935, Marxists and Jews had been rounded up in horrible concentration camps, where they were being tortured by the SS, and where hunger and filthiness caused <i>ten thousands</i> of people to die. Hitler's battle against the Jews is, according to the author, a separate chapter in this history. Antisemitism (a term first used around 1870) is about the aggression of a majority group against the minorities of the exiled Jewish people. Expelled from businesses and cultural life, maltreated in concentration camps, <i>ten thousands</i> of Jews were finally destroyed in gas chambers.
In what ways are outcomes of the historical debate conveyed?	None
In what ways (aspects) of popular historical culture are conveyed?	None

1.3 Time and geographical scope

What periodization is used? (years/centuries and names?); when does the 'story' begin, when does it end?	No years mentioned. The chapters on World War Two are ranged under 'contemporary history 1929-1959'. In 1932, Hitler's SA en SS began a civil war against Jews and Marxists. Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg were in their policies against the Jews consistent with a history of two thousand years and were certain of the support of the vast majority of the German people that has been known as <i>judenfeindlich</i> for centuries. In 1932, a civil war against Jews and Marxists began.
To what extent does textbooks offer multiple perspectives on the Holocaust?	None
To whom does the Holocaust 'belong'?	To Hitler and his Nazi-leaders
Is the Holocaust portrayed as part of Jewish history?	No, except that Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg were in their policies against the Jews consistent with a history of two thousand years and were certain of the support of the vast majority of the German people that has been known as <i>judenfeindlich</i> for centuries.
Where is the Holocaust located geographically?	No information
Is there a global or transnational perspective, perpetrators, victims, bystanders?	No
Is there national reflection or	No

a multinational or multi-perspective approach?	
Whose story is told, which groups receive attention, which don't?	The fate of Jews and other victims is not mentioned.
Is some group or person being marginalized?	Victims
Does the author link the past with the present? Why and how?	Ardent German Antisemitism manifested itself in the murder 'on the Jew Rathenau' in 1922. Antisemitism is part of every reactionary movement anywhere. The young assassins later were venerated as heroes by national-socialism. Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg were in their policies against the Jews consistent with a history of two thousand years and were certain of the support of the vast majority of the German people that has been known as <i>judenfeindlich</i> for centuries.
According to the author, what is the motor of history? What causes the change and continuity?	Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg were in their policies against the Jews consistent with a history of two thousand years and were certain of the support of the vast majority of the German people.
Matter of uniqueness: is the Holocaust compared with other genocides?	No
Is the Holocaust dislocated from time and space? Has it become a Trauma Symbol instead of a War Crime?	No

1.4 Contextualization and explanation

Explanatory models: the Holocaust as part of a totalitarian system, 'intentionalist' or 'functionalist' models, sociological explanations (product of modern society, role of bureaucracy), mono-causality or multi-causality schedules?	Intentionalist: in 1926 Hitler (in <i>Mein Kampf</i>) has already explained his racial politics and now comes to the topic of foreign policy. He does not beat about the bush. Because, apart from Jewry he hates bolshevism too, which is by the way according to him a creation of the Israelites. These thoughts propagated in <i>Mein Kampf</i> clearly demonstrate the confounded and fanatical ideas Hitler had.
Does the text show the Holocaust as a severe outburst of ant-Semitism or a systematic and efficient bureaucratic operation?	There is no information on the process leading up to the Holocaust: a lot on foreign policy, but nothing on the Jews after 1933, Nuremberg Laws or Kristallnacht.

1.5 Quantitative Aspects of the Textbook and Didactics

Number of Pages on National-Socialism and WW2	24 (6,9%)
Number of Pages on Holocaust (Percentages of pages on NS & WW2)	0,25 (1%)
Number of Pages on	0

Holocaust in The Netherlands / Germany	
Images of the Holocaust	0
How are statistics used? Do they add a meaningful dimension to the experience of human suffering?	No statistics
To what extent can students formulate judgments based on the presentation of evidence?	No sources
To what extent does the textbook invite the use of critical skills of investigation and inquiry?	No sources
Are sources used only to justify the making of major decisions or to critique those decisions?	No sources
Is contradictory evidence used or included?	No
What reference is made to historical research in the text?	None
Do the texts invite students to oppositional reading?	No
Are students invited and stimulated to perform personal attitudes and judgments towards the Holocaust?	No
How are narrative, source materials and pictorial evidence combined to induce feelings of empathy among students?	No

2 Perpetrator and Bystander narratives

2.1 Contextualization and explanation

Contextualization	<p>In 1932 Hitler's party obtained 230 parliamentary seats. Already the SA and his SS began the civil war against Jews and Marxists. In <i>Mein Kampf</i> Hitler already explained his racial politics and now comes to the topic of foreign policy. He does not beat about the bush. He continues with the <i>Lebensraum im Osten</i>-theory. The old Bismarck-thought that Germany should ally with Russia is not compatible with Hitler's beliefs. Russia is doomed to perish, and one does not ally with a country which is bound to wither. And if the Russians were strong, they would try to destroy Germany. Understandably so, according to Hitler, because in Russian bolshevism we have only seen an attempt, undertaken by Jewry in the twentieth century, to establish world domination. So Germans need to gain land in the east, isolate France, connect with the British and the Italians, provided they settle things with</p>
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	their Jews and remain aware of their Germanic origins. When the mentally disturbed Rudolf Hess attempts to heed the call from <i>Mein Kampf</i> , already ten million copies of the book had been sold.
Which persons/actors play an active key-role and how are they portrayed?	Hitler: he hated Jewry; he fought a battle against the Jews. The SS: they tortured especially Jews and Marxists, Jews were sent to horrific concentration camps where ten thousands died because of tortures by the SS, hunger and soiling.
Is there an Antisemitic or racist continuity in German history?	Ardent German Antisemitism manifested itself in the murder on the Jew Rathenau in 1922. Antisemitism is part of every reactionary movement anywhere. The young assassins later were venerated as heroes by national-socialism. Hitler and his followers used antisemitism cleverly in propaganda (Goebbels), and even created an ideology (Rosenberg, <i>Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts</i>). Unimpeded, they could link their policy against the Jews with a history of 2000 years and be certain of the support of the vast majority of the German people.

2.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Most frequently used names victims in relation to culpability	Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg, SA, SS
Does the book refer to perpetrators, victims, bystanders or other agents (and if yes, how)?	No
Who was responsible for the Holocaust?	In the chapter on 'contemporary history', the author describes the period between 1929 and 1959. From 1932 onwards, Hitler's NSDAP, SA and SS started a 'civil war' against Jews and Marxists. Hitler's hatred for Jews and Bolsheviks had already been laid out in <i>Mein Kampf</i> , published in 1926. <i>Völkische</i> citations from <i>Mein Kampf</i> follow, which provide us with a clear 'insight in the muddled and fanatical range of ideas of Adolf Hitler'.
References on collective German/Dutch guilt	The German people had been hostile towards the Jews for centuries and had therefore supported (or not opposed to) the policies of Hitler and the other Nazi leaders. Goebbels' propaganda did the rest.
References on individual responsibility/accountability	None
Does the book use 'distancing techniques' in order to escape collective guilt issues (stressing Dutch resistance against antisemitic measures, minimizing differences between victims, self-victimization or comparing victims with other sufferings like <i>Heimatvertriebenen</i> , German or Dutch civilians)?	The Dutch resistance against the oppressor is described. Especially the prosecution of the Jews triggered the imagination of 'good patriots': already in February 1941, the renowned February Strike broke out in Amsterdam in reaction to the revolting raids. People were kept in hiding all over the place; the book names one example: the Anne Frank diaries has become world famous.
In what ways are outcomes of the historical debate conveyed?	None

2.3 Linguistic analysis

What words, names, terminology and controversies on the Holocaust are used?	Destroyed, concentration camps, gas chambers, persecution, <i>razzia's</i> , <i>judenfeindlich</i>
What is the connotation of the language: positive or negative, normative or value-free?	Negative and normative
Is there any use of stereotypes?	Germans are traditionally very antisemitic.

3 Victim narratives

3.1 Contextualization and explanation

Most frequently used names victims in relation to victimhood	None (Jews), only Anne Frank. Wrong numbers: thousands and tens of thousands
Are victims ('Jews', 'gypsies' etc.) or bystanders ('local population', 'technicians', etc.) specifically mentioned? How?	Jews (2) and Marxists

3.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Are the victims portrayed as part of German/Dutch societies?	See above
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3.3 Linguistic analysis

What words, names, terminology and controversies on the Holocaust are used?	Destroyed, concentration camps, gas chambers, persecution, <i>razzia's</i> , <i>judenfeindlich</i> . Anne Frank is portrayed as the national victim.
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Appendix 3: Analytical Instrument German History Textbook *Histoire/Geschichte* (2010)

1. General Information

1.1 Textbook information

Title	Histoire/Geschichte. Europa und die Welt vom Wiener Kongress bis 1945. Deutsch-französisches Geschichtsbuch Gymnasiale Oberstufe.
Author	Anne Duménil, Bernadette Galloux, Daniel Henri, Guillaume Le Quintrec, Bénédicte Toucheboeuf, Jean-Marc Wolff, Lars Boesenberg, Michaela Braun, Peter Geiss, Gabriel Große, Kaspar Maase. Martin Wicke.
Publishing company	Ernst Klett Verlag Stuttgart/München
Place and year of the first edition	Leipzig 2008
Edition and year of this book	First edition, fifth print 2010
Target group	Gymnasiale Oberstufe for German and French students. Classe de Première in France and 11 th and 12 th grades in Germany.
Type of book: pages, pictures, teacher's guide, workbook, test material etc.	385 pages
Comments of the author(s): how to use this textbook, statement about the content, the design, didactics, purpose of history education etc.	<p>Multicolored, the cover is European blue. There is a glossary, sources, Fragen und Anregungen, every one of them in different colors. The book is divided into seven parts (Der Erste Weltkrieg), each chapter in 2 to 4 chapters. Every part begin with a double Auftaktdoppelseite. Left is the author's text, with their names and a glossary, right are images, statistics, text sources. Furthermore there are 51 Dossiers, supplementing the chapters on art, literature, sports. At the end of the 7 parts there is a summary with glossary. Finally a "Deutsch-Französischer Perspektivenwechsel": special features of German-French dealing with that particular topic. Also suggestions for reading, films, websites etc. Students are to be able to think critically. The authors refrain from delivering main texts, but work with sources (ration is 1:3). Not only texts, also pictures, maps, graphs, etc. students are introduced to a historian's work: how to work with different sources, how to find stuff in archives, how to interview people.</p> <p>Histoire/Geschichte offers multiple perspectives. No wonder with a bi-cultural textbook, but especially the „Bilanzen“ offer much interesting stuff. It is shown to students that history is constructed, historiographic dossiers serve as means to critically assess historical research. „Im Blick des Historikers“: Hitler's role through interviews with Kershaw, Bullock and Haffner.</p> <p>Histoire/Geschichte is more of a learning- and workbook than it is a learn-and read book. Transnational too, in the last chapter the textbook looks into German-French European policies. The textbook is very Europocentric though, especially eastern Europe is mostly excluded. .</p>

What values and attitudes does the book try to transfer, with regards to authority, institutions, traditions, rules, principles, ideologies?	On the occasion of the fortieth celebration of the Elysée-Treaty between Germany and France, the German-Franco Youth Parliament assembled in Berlin. The participants called for the launch of a history textbook with equal content for both countries, in order to deconstruct prejudices that have been caused by ignorance.
Biographical information about the author(s)	Martin Wicke wrote chapter 14 on Das Nationalsozialistische Deutschland (1933-1945). Chapter 16 (Die Großen Phasen des Zweiten Weltkrieges (1939-1945) and 17 (Europa unter deutscher Herrschaft (1939-1945)) and 18 (Frankreich im Zweiten Weltkrieg (1939-1945)) were written by Daniel Henri and Bénédicte Toucheboeuf. The Holocaust is not part of chapter 16, but belongs to 17: Hitler's new order for Europe, annihilation of communists, Jews, ghettos, concentration camps, Auschwitz, etc.

1.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Most frequently used names of perpetrators and victims in relation to the Holocaust?	<p>Hitler (4), who combined 'Volk' and 'Rasse'; he invented a radical and racist antisemitism (with fragments from Mein Kampf). Himmler (2). SD, SS, Wehrmacht and Gestapo were actors on the stage of terror. Before 1934 the SA too. Many judges too. Hans Frank. <i>Einsatzgruppen</i>. Reinhardt Heydrich (2). Adolf Eichmann. Military leaders, companies, doctors, universities, policemen, <i>Reichsbahn</i>. Jäger.</p> <p>Three historians are cited who have studied Hitler intensively: Bullock, Haffner and Kershaw. That Hitler was supposed to be a 'weak' dictator cannot longer be upheld. Whether he deliberately created chaos and polycracy so that he could act as impartial referee is uncertain. Kershaw believes that the last decision was made by Hitler. When Gustloff was killed in 1936, Hitler didn't want a antisemitic wave in Germany. In 1938 he did, so it happened.</p>
Use of other authors: spokesman or quotations? Whom? Which sentences? How long?	Gisela Diewald-Kerkmann (University Bielefeld) on how ordinary Germans became informers. Sebastian Haffner (<i>Geschichte eines Deutschen</i>) (source on SA-terror), Viktor Klemperer (<i>Tagebuch</i>) (source on Jewish life in 1933), H-J Döschner (<i>Reichskristallnacht</i> 2000) (source), Bullock, Haffner, Kershaw on Hitler (separate page), Arendt, Carl J. Friedrich and Kershaw on totalitarianism, Hilberg on <i>Aktion Reinhardt</i> , Pätzhold/Schwarz (<i>Tagesordnung Judenmord. Die Wannseekonferenz am 20. Januar 1942. Eine Dokumentation zur Organisation der "Endlösung"</i>), Klee/Dressen/Rieß (1998) („ <i>Schöne Zeiten</i> “). <i>Judenmord aus der Sicht der Täter und Gaffer</i> (source), Browning (<i>Ordinary Men</i>) (source), Hilberg, USHMM and Gutman/Rozet on the number of victims (between 5.6 and 5.8 million), Benz (between 5.2 and 6 million), Schwarz (<i>Die nationalsozialistische Lager</i> 1996), Primo Levi, Piper (<i>Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz</i> 1993), at the end further notes with literature, museums and commemorative sites, films.
What events and processes are covered with regard to the Holocaust?	<p>Basically everything: Part 6 ('Democracies and Totalitarian Regimes during the Interbellum'), chapter 14 ('The National-Socialist Germany 1933-1939') and part 7 ('World War Two'), chapter 16 ('the large phases of the world war 1939-1945') and chapter 17 ('Europe under German siege (1939-1945') and chapter 18 ('France in the Second World War 1939-1945').</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14.1: Nazi racial ideology, Social-Darwinism, party program of 1920 where Jews were connected to capitalism and communism,

	<p>with fragments from Mein Kampf, Judenboykott, Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14.4: 1933-1939 Violence, terror and repression in national-socialist Germany: Jews, Jehova's Witnesses, Sinti, Roma, homosexuals, unwilling workers, a-socials and alcoholics were persecuted - Nuremberg Laws 1935, euthanasia, SD, SA, SS, concentration camps, judiciary participating in the persecutions - Der Stürmer, Reichskristallnacht - Ethnic cleansing in Poland, Einsatzgruppen, Nacht- und Nebelerlass, Wannsee Konferenz, RSHA, Aktion Reinhardt, Endlösung der Judenfrage, extermination camps, ghetto's, Lodz, Warsaw, Chelmo, Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibor, Majdanek, Auschwitz, Zyklon B, Sonderkommandos, Shoah and Holocaust, righteous among the nations
In what ways are outcomes of the historical debate conveyed?	In a lot of ways: see 'other spokesmen'
In what ways (aspects) of popular historical culture are conveyed?	<p>Weiterführende Hinweise:</p> <p>Eye witnesses: Lucie Aubrac (Heldin aus Liebe: eine Frau kämpft gegen die Gestapo, Anne Frank Tagebuch, Primo Levi, Art Spiegelman's <i>Maus</i>. Darstellungen: Benz (Der Holocaust), Hilberg (Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden).</p> <p>Museen und Dokumentationszentren: Memorial pour la paix in Caen, USHMM, Yad Vashem (including websites).</p> <p>Films: Deutschland im Jahre 0, Das Haus nebenan, Lili Marleen, Shoah, Au revoir les enfants, Schindler's List, The Pianist, Sophie Scholl.</p>

1.3 Time and geographical scope

What periodization is used? (years/centuries and names?); when does the 'story' begin, when does it end?	<p><i>Dossier Rassengesetzgebung und Rassendiskriminierung (1933-1939):</i> antisemitism in a national and racial connotation begins in Germany around 1880. 1 April 1933 "Judenboykott". 7 April 1933 "Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentum". The judicial fundamentals of antisemitism are the Nuremberg Laws of September 1935. 9/10 November 1938 "Reichspogromnacht". October 1939 Aktion T4. Between January 1940 and August 1941 70,000 (some claim 120,000) psychiatric patients and handicapped were murdered through gas or injections. In January 1933 Hitler had 'predicted' that a new war would lead to the "Vernichtung der jüdischen Rasse in Europa". Up to 1941 however, no genocide had been planned. The "Shoah" was not planned beforehand. It developed from the radicalization of the actions pursued from June 1941 onwards in the 'Vernichtungskrieg' against the Soviet Union. In September 1941 33,771 Jews from Kiev were shot at Babi Yar. That is when the extermination of the Jews began, initially however limited to Soviet Jews. When the Blitzkrieg failed in the autumn of 1941, the initial plan of deporting Polish Jews to the east could not be fulfilled. Probably</p>
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	<p>Hitler and his executives then decided to wipe out the entire Jewish population in Europe. In November 1941 the chief of the RSHA, Reinhard Heydrich, announced a meeting that would discuss the “Endlösung der Judenfrage”. On 20 January 1942 the coordination of the deportation of eleven million Jews was decided at the Wannsee Conference, where it became clearly expressed that nobody was supposed to survive. From 1942 onwards the Vernichtungslager were operational. During the “Aktion Reinhard” the ghettos of the Generalgouvernement were dissolved. From the summer of 1942 onwards West European Jews were being deported to the extermination camps. Nevertheless did the Einsatzgruppen proceed with their ‘mobile murderactions’ (Raul Hilberg) until 1943, thereby killing around 1,25 million people.</p>
To what extent does textbooks offer multiple perspectives on the Holocaust?	<p>Very much so: In the east of Europe a <i>Vernichtungskrieg</i> against communism took place. From June 1941 the ideological dimension took control over the military dimension. The SS received a free hand in killing political commissioners of the Red Army and Jews belonging to the communist party. The <i>Wehrmacht</i> too took part in the atrocities. Two-third of Soviet POW’s died in captivity. As a reaction on the partisan war in the Soviet Union, Greece and Yugoslavia, the German oppressors increased their retaliations against the civil population.</p>
To whom does the Holocaust ‘belong’?	<p>To the Nazi’s; the textbook doesn’t offer any information on European antisemitism before 1933 (although there is a dossier on the Dreyfuss-affair, but nothing is said on the roots of antisemitism.). Antisemitism appears in Germany around 1880, was religiously based but became increasingly nationalist and was racially characterized by national-socialist ideology. Hitler (in his <i>Bekenntnisbuch Mein Kampf</i>, which was handed over like a bible on weddings etc.) and the chief editor of the party newspaper “Völkischer Beobachter” Alfred Rosenberg (in “Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts”) spread national-socialist ideas. Nazi’s persecuted long before the war several “Volksschädlingen”, especially Jews, Jehova’s Witnesses, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, “Arbeitsscheue”, “Asoziale” and alcoholics. Several legislations offered a pseudo-legal frame for these measures, like the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and the “Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses” of 1933.</p>
Is the Holocaust portrayed as part of Jewish history?	<p>No. nothing on pre-war Jewish life, and the book only covers the period up to 1945. The only thing that is mentioned on the situation after the war, is the fact that many Jews owed their lives to people who risked their lives by rescuing Jews. Since 1963 they were honored in Yad Vashem in Israel as ‘Righteous among the nations’ (like Raoul Wallenberg, who saved more than 2,000 Hungarian Jews). On 1. January 2006 their number was 21,310.</p>
Where is the Holocaust located geographically?	<p>Concentration camps were in Germany (e.g. Dachau, Oranienburg, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen), as well as in the annexed territories of the “Grossdeutschen Reiches” (e.g. Struthof in Alsace, Theresienstadt). They are to be distinguished from the extermination camps erected during World war Two, that served for mass murder’.</p> <p>The question in chapter 17 is: on what basis and according to what principles have national-socialist leaders tried to reorganize Europe? The occupied territories were treated differently, according to their racial ideology. Slavic people were considered inferior and were treated brutally. “Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums” Heinrich Himmler pursued “ethnische Säuberungen” in the western part of Poland. Hundreds of thousands Poles (Jews and gentiles) were deported to the “Generalgouvernement”, ruled by Hans Frank. Polish</p>

	<p>intelligentsia and the Polish clergy were persecuted and murdered. With the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, which Hitler had proclaimed as a “Vernichtungskrieg” against communism, a further radicalization of the German domination of foreign territories. Four Einsatzgruppen killed hundreds of thousands civilians, Jews and communists, who were considered as “Reichsfeinde”. In this context the “Endlösung der Judenfrage” was prepared.</p> <p>In Ch17 paragraph 3 (“Die Vernichtung der Juden in Europa”) the question is asked “when and how did the leaders of the “Third Reich” decide to annihilate the entire Jewish population of Europe?”</p>
Is there a global or transnational perspective, perpetrators, victims, bystanders?	<p>Not really. There is a paragraph on attitudes of the world on the genocide: what did the world know? Most Polish Jews knew what was going to happen to them, because the announcement of the deportation of the last Jews in the Warsaw ghetto led to the uprising of April 1943. The allies received information about the camps from refugees, but gave priority to military actions. Pope Pius XII refused to give up the Vatican’s neutral status and did not officially condemn the antisemitic actions committed by the Third Reich. However, he did contribute to the rescue of thousands of Italian Jews in September 1943. Many Jews were saved by courageous actions by men and women who have been honored since 1963 in Israel with the title Righteous among the Nations (on 1. January their number was 21,310). In 1944 the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg saved more than 20,000 Hungarian Jews by giving them Swedish passports.</p> <p>In chapter 18 (Frankreich im Zweiten Weltkrieg) there is a dossier on antisemitic persecutions in France. In October 1940 and June 1941 the Vichy-regime ordered the incarceration of a part of foreign Jews in camps. The German forced a number of measures upon them as wearing yellow stars. The occupational forces forced the French authorities from 1942 onwards to deport the Jews. The Vichy government supported these measures through engaging bureaucratic staff and police forces in order to be able to obtain some political concessions. A large part of the 350,000 Jews in France were supported by the parts of the French population, especially when it concerned children. Nevertheless, some 75,000 Jews – one third of those having French nationality - were deported from France. Especially to Auschwitz, only 2,500 survived. Sources follow: antisemitic laws in October 1940, a fragment from a diary of a Jewish boy who went to school for the first time with a star attached to his clothes, and receiving the warmest welcome by his teacher and class mates (‘it was then that I understood the Republic’s devise ‘Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité’), picture of Victor Fajnzilber, who did not have to wear the star because he was a war invalid. The Vichy government did not implement the obligation to wear a star in the south. Source on an exhibition on ‘Der Jude und Frankreich” in Paris in September 1941, organized by the Gestapo; 300,000 visitors came. Last source on a protest of the bishop of Toulouse, August 1942 against the deportations. The letter was read in all churches of the diocese; Jews are people, terrible things happen to them, they are our brothers. Last sentence: ‘France, you noble and generous country, I do not doubt it. You are not responsible for these horrors’.</p>
Is there national reflection or a multinational or multi-	<p>Since the 1960’s there have been huge historical controversies on judging responsibilities in the genocide of the Jews (Shoah). The <i>Judenstatut</i> that the Vichy government has proclaimed on own initiative already in</p>

perspective approach?	October 1940 in southern France, did not provoke much protest. But when it became clear that this statute facilitated the deportation of Jews by the occupier, heavy protests followed. The French administration and police actively participated in the deportations: this responsibility of the French state (and not the Vichy government) was only officially recognized in 1995. The textbook states that one cannot claim (as Goldhagen does in his "Hitler's willing executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust") that on the basis of existing antisemitism in German society the road to the destruction of the Jews was not as inevitable as he suggested. On the other hand, the absence of response of the German population to the terrible fate of the European Jews cannot be explained through the fact that one didn't know about it: it has been clearly demonstrated that not only the SS but also the civil and military administration participated largely in the genocide.
Whose story is told, which groups receive attention, which don't?	Victims more or less neglected, although two important sources deal with what happened to the victims in the camps. In the main text mainly perpetrators.
Is some group or person being marginalized?	No
Does the author link the past with the present? Why and how?	The national-socialists transferred Darwin's theory of evolution on to human society; they reduced the history of mankind to a struggle between the races, where eventually the strongest race would win.
According to the author, what is the motor of history? What causes the change and continuity?	Hitler brought World War Two about, which offered him the opportunity to execute his expansion plans. With unprecedented violence, German occupation forces established a new 'Europäische Ordnung'. Millions of Europeans were subjugated to forced labor, hunger, executions and massive retaliation. The national-socialists planned the extermination of the entire Jewish population in Europe – a process that has no parallel in history.
Matter of uniqueness: is the Holocaust compared with other genocides?	The national-socialists planned the extermination of the entire Jewish population in Europe – a process that has no parallel in history. Question: discuss why one might state that the national-socialist crimes were unparalleled in history.
Is the Holocaust dislocated from time and space? Has it become a Trauma Symbol instead of a War Crime?	No

1.4 Contextualization and explanation

Explanatory models: the Holocaust as part of a totalitarian system, 'intentionalist' or 'functionalist' models, sociological explanations (product of modern society, role of bureaucracy), mono-	The authors seem to suggest on the one hand that the Holocaust was pre-planned. With the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, which Hitler had proclaimed as a "Vernichtungskrieg" against communism, a further radicalization of the German domination of foreign territories. Four Einsatzgruppen killed hundreds of thousands civilians, Jews and communists, who were considered as "Reichsfeinde". In this context the "Endlösung der Judenfrage" was prepared. In the T4-operation, where the <i>Kriegsführung</i> [sic] decided in October 1939 that weak individuals and "parasites" were to be eliminated.
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causality or multi-causality schedules?	<p>Patients in German psychiatric hospitals were euthanized, where extermination techniques through gassing was “erprobt”. Between January 1940 and August 1941 70,000 (some estimate up to 120,000) were killed through gassing or injections.</p> <p>On the other hand the textbook states that the Shoah was not planned beforehand, but developed from increasing radical actions that were pursued from June 1941 onwards in the context of the “Vernichtungskrieg” against the Soviet Union. First, the Einsatzgruppen were ordered to execute all “Jüdisch-bolschewistischen” agents. These were political commissaries and members of the communist party. Soon however, entire Jewish families were massacred. In September 1941 33,771 Jews from Kiev were shot at Babi Yar. With this, the extermination of the Jews began, first limited however to Jews from the Soviet Union. With the failure of the Blitzkrieg in the autumn of 1941, the original plan of relocating the Polish Jews towards the east could no longer be fulfilled. Probably Hitler and his <i>Umfeld</i> then decided to wipe out the entire Jewish population in Europe. In November, the leader of the RSHA Reinhardt Heydrich announced a meeting that would deal with the “Endlösung der Judenfrage”. At the Wannseekonferenz of 20 January 1942 the deportation of 11 million Jews towards the east was coordinated, where it was stated clearly that nobody was supposed to survive. From 1942 onwards all Vernichtungslager were “einsatzbereit”. From now on German officials liquidated the ghettos of the Generalgouvernement in the “Aktion Reinhardt”. From the summer of 1942 onwards west-European Jews were deported into the extermination camps. Yet the Einsatzgruppen continued their “mobilen Mordaktionen” (Raul Hilberg) until 1943, which meant the killing of approximately 1,25 million people. The deportation of Jews from all European countries was pursued through an enormous bureaucratic machinery led by Adolf Eichmann, leader of Büro IV-B-4 of the RSHA. The genocide was essentially pursued by the SS, but there were other groups in society (military leaders, businesses, doctors, universities, policemen, Reichsbahn) as well as the administrations of the states that collaborated with Germany.</p>
Does the text show the Holocaust as a severe outburst of antisemitism or a systematic and efficient bureaucratic operation?	<p>The Shoah was not planned beforehand, but developed from increasing radical actions that were pursued from June 1941 onwards in the context of the “Vernichtungskrieg” against the Soviet Union. First, the Einsatzgruppen were ordered to execute all “Jüdisch-bolschewistischen” agents. These were political commissaries and members of the communist party. Soon however, entire Jewish families were massacred. In September 1941 33,771 Jews from Kiev were shot at Babi Yar. With this, the extermination of the Jews began, first limited however to Jews from the Soviet Union. With the failure of the Blitzkrieg in the autumn of 1941, the original plan of relocating the Polish Jews towards the east could no longer be fulfilled. Probably Hitler and his <i>Umfeld</i> then decided to wipe out the entire Jewish population in Europe. In November, the leader of the RSHA Reinhardt Heydrich announced a meeting that would deal with the “Endlösung der Judenfrage”. At the Wannseekonferenz of 20 January 1942 the deportation of 11 million Jews towards the east was coordinated, where it was stated clearly that nobody was supposed to survive. From 1942 onwards all Vernichtungslager were “einsatzbereit”. From now on German officials liquidated the ghettos of the</p>

	<p>Generalgouvernement in the “Aktion Reinhardt”. From the summer of 1942 onwards west-European Jews were deported into the extermination camps. Yet the Einsatzgruppen continued their “mobilen Mordaktionen” (Raul Hilberg) until 1943, which meant the killing of approximately 1,25 million people.</p> <p>The deportation of Jews from all European countries was pursued through an enormous bureaucratic machinery led by Adolf Eichmann, leader of Büro IV-B-4 of the RSHA. The genocide was essentially pursued by the SS, but there were other groups in society (military leaders, businesses, doctors, universities, policemen, Reichsbahn) as well as the administrations of the states that collaborated with Germany.</p>
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1.5 Quantitative Aspects of the Textbook and Didactics

Pages on National-Socialism and WW2	78 (20,3%)			
Pages on Holocaust (Percentages of pages on NS & WW2)	20 (25,6%)			
Illustrations on Holocaust	15 (Deutsche kauft nicht bei Juden, Ich bin hier am Ort, Pogromschaden 1938, Massenhinrichtungen in Jugoslawien, Tsvi Nussbaum, Antisemitische Verfolgungen in Polen, Hungertod Warschauer Ghetto, Pogrom von Lwiw, Massenmord Ukraine, Map of concentration camps, German civilians burying bodies in Buchenwald April 1945, Ungarischer Juden in Auschwitz II, map of Auschwitz I, II and III, Der Jude und Frankreich Ausstellung, Jews wearing Stars in the occupied zones.			
How are statistics used? Do they add a meaningful dimension to the experience of human suffering?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Two-third of Soviet POW's died in captivity. Statistic on mortality rates of POW's during WW2:			
	%	Soviet soldiers	British and American soldiers	German soldiers
		57.,9%	3,6%	37,6%
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Number of victims: civilians, soldiers, Jews killed per country (102,000 in the Netherlands, 2,100,000 in the Soviet Union, 2,700,000 in Poland, 165,000 in Germany, 550,000 in Hungary). The estimation of numbers of victims is a very difficult matter: sources are often incomplete or unreliable. The numbers in this statistic are based on a range of publications.- Number of victims of the genocide are estimations and therefore uncertain: according to Hilberg 5,100,000 in 1939, between 54 and 64 % of European Jewry, younger calculations by USHMM estimate between 5,596,000 and 5,860,000.- Statistic on general estimation of number of victims of the genocide: Jews 5,100,000 (between 54-64% of the European Jewish population), ghettoization and general deprivations 800,000, executions 1,300,00, camps 3,000,000, Sinti and Roma 200,000 (30% of population) (from Hilberg, USHMM, Gutman/Rozet, Benz).			
To what extent can	Why did Hitler hate the Jews? How can you explain the connection he made			

students formulate judgments based on the presentation of evidence?	<p>between the alleged influence of the 'Finanzjudentums' and the 'Bolschewisierung der Erde'. What did 'Vernichtung der jüdischen Rasse' mean in 1939? Was the Wannsee conference the beginning of the genocide on the Jews? What Why did the German officials force Jews to live in ghettos? Why did Germans let Ukrainian nationalists persecute the Jews? Why were 'Einsatzgruppen' formed? Why were women and children murdered? Why did the police officer in source 5 think it necessary to shift the responsibility for the massacre to SS-men?</p> <p>There are several primary sources: 'The National-Socialist Ideology' (antisemitic fragment from <i>Mein Kampf</i>); 'Violence, Terror and Oppression in national-socialist Germany (1933-1945)'; Sebastian Haffner witnessed as a young law clerk how SA-men chased non-Aryans from the library of the Prussian law court in Berlin; Ulrich von Hassel (conservative anti-Nazi) reacting shamefully on the events of November 9 1938; written order from Heydrich (2 July 1941) about who was to be executed; Hitler's Reichstag speech from 30 January 1939; the Wannsee protocol; the Jäger-Bericht, December 1941 (Karl Jäger headed one of the Einsatzkommandos and commanded the Sicherheitspolizei and SD in Lithuania from 1941-1943), stating that 137,346 Jews were executed in Lithuania, and that there are no Jews left there; Himmler ordering the liquidation of Majdanek and Poniatowa in November 1943; Police Battalion 101 killing 42,000 people (citations from Browning); fragment from Primo Levi's <i>Ecce Homo</i>.</p>
To what extent does the textbook invite the use of critical skills of investigation and inquiry?	Questions like: why was the war in the east for Hitler different from the war in the west? Why and how were the 'Einsatzgruppen' employed?
Is contradictory evidence used or included?	See above
Do the texts invite students to oppositional reading?	Three historians are cited who have studied Hitler intensively: Bullock, Haffner and Kershaw. That Hitler was supposed to be a 'weak' dictator cannot longer be upheld. Whether he deliberately created chaos and polycracy so that he could act as impartial referee is uncertain. Kershaw believes that the last decision was made y Hitler. When Gustloff was killed in 1936, Hitler didn't want a antisemitic wave in Germany. In 1938 he did, so it happened. Questions: what importance did Hitler have in the decision making process according to the historians? How did the national-socialist state function?
Are students invited and stimulated to perform personal attitudes and judgments towards the Holocaust?	Discuss whether the national-socialist crimes were unique in history.
How are narrative, source materials and pictorial evidence combined to induce feelings of empathy among students?	Germans have behaved beastly towards victims: pictures of public executions, Tsvi Nussbaum, public hangings and terrible conditions for Soviet POW's, humiliations of Jews, children starving in ghettos', women raped, mass murder by shootings. Most written sources are portraying perpetrators, except two: one member of a Sonderkommando who worked in Auschwitz in crematorium nr. V. He describes the process of killing, shaving, extracting teeth and burning the corpse and getting rid of the ashes. The other sources tells of manuscripts by Sonderkommando members (together with a anonymous text which is said to be written by Leib

	Langfus) discovered in Birkenau. Langfus died probably in 1944. He wrote in Yiddish. The text reveals that a young Polish woman, while already in the gas chamber, suddenly rose and spoke of hope and German barbarism, , after which they all prayed and sang the Polish national anthem, the Jews sang the Hatikwa, and more songs. When the gas entered the room, they all died. Questions attached are about the importance of the testimony, the character of the Shoah, the behavior of the victims.
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2 Perpetrator and Bystander narratives

2.1 Contextualization and explanation

Which persons/actors play an active key-role and how are they portrayed?	<p>With the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, which Hitler had proclaimed as a “Vernichtungskrieg” against communism, a further radicalization of the German domination of foreign territories. Four Einsatzgruppen killed hundreds of thousands civilians, Jews and communists, who were considered as “Reichsfeinde”. In this context the “Endlösung der Judenfrage” was prepared.</p> <p>In the T4-operation, where the <i>Kriegsführung</i> [sic] decided in October 1939 that weak individuals and “parasites” were to be eliminated.</p> <p>Einsatzgruppen were ordered to execute all “Jüdisch-bolschewistischen” agents. These were political commissaries and members of the communist party. Soon however, entire Jewish families were massacred. In September 1941 33,771 Jews from Kiev were shot at Babi Yar. With this, the extermination of the Jews began, first limited however to Jews from the Soviet Union. With the failure of the Blitzkrieg in the autumn of 1941, the original plan of relocating the Polish Jews towards the east could no longer be fulfilled. Probably Hitler and his <i>Umfeld</i> then decided to wipe out the entire Jewish population in Europe. In November, the leader of the RSHA Reinhard Heydrich announced a meeting that would deal with the “Endlösung der Judenfrage”.</p> <p>From 1942 on German officials liquidated the ghettos of the Generalgouvernement in the “Aktion Reinhardt”. From the summer of 1942 onwards west-European Jews were deported into the extermination camps. Yet the Einsatzgruppen continued their “mobilen Mordaktionen” (Raul Hilberg) until 1943, which meant the killing of approximately 1,25 million people.</p> <p>The deportation of Jews from all European countries was pursued through an enormous bureaucratic machinery led by Adolf Eichmann, leader of Büro IV-B-4 of the RSHA. The genocide was essentially pursued by the SS, but there were other groups in society (military leaders, businesses, doctors, universities, policemen, Reichsbahn) as well as the administrations of the states that collaborated with Germany.</p>
Is there an antisemitic or racist continuity in German history?	<p>The textbook doesn’t offer any information on European antisemitism before 1933 (although there is a dossier on the Dreyfuss-affair, but nothing is said on the roots of antisemitism.). Antisemitism appears in Germany around 1880, was religiously based but became increasingly nationalist and was racially characterized by national-socialist ideology. Hitler (in his <i>Bekenntnisbuch Mein Kampf</i>, which was handed over like a bible on weddings etc.) and the chief editor of the party newspaper “Völkischer Beobachter” Alfred Rosenberg (in “Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts”) spread national-socialist ideas.</p>

2.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Does the book specifically refer to perpetrators or bystanders or other agents (and if yes, how)?	<p>The genocide was essentially pursued by the SS, but there were other groups in society (military leaders, businesses, doctors, universities, policemen, Reichsbahn) as well as the administrations of the states that collaborated with Germany. There is a photo of German civilians clearing bodies in Buchenwald.</p> <p>The textbook states that one cannot claim (as Goldhagen does in his "Hitler's willing executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust") that on the basis of existing antisemitism in German society the road to the destruction of the Jews was not as inevitable as he suggested. On the other hand, the absence of response of the German population to the terrible fate of the European Jews cannot be explained through the fact that one didn't know about it: it has been clearly demonstrated that not only the SS but also the civil and military administration participated largely in the genocide.</p>
Who was responsible for the Holocaust?	National-socialism: in a source on the comparison of fascism and national-socialism, Karl Dietrich Bracher (in 1991) believes that the German national-socialism required a strong state to serve as a perfected technical instrument to organize a superior and revolutionary racial empire.
References to collective German guilt	<p>SS had free hand in the killing. Hitler's speech of 30-1-1939 where he addressed himself as a prophet claiming that the end effect of the war will be the 'destruction of the Jewish race in Europe'. Goldhagen's thesis is contested: one cannot claim that through existing antisemitism the destruction of the Jews was necessarily premeditated. It has turned out however that the lack of response of the German population was not because they didn't know of the massacres in the east. Furthermore it has been demonstrated clearly that not only the SS but also civil and military institutions were involved in the genocide.</p> <p>The deportation of Jews from all European countries was pursued through an enormous bureaucratic machinery led by Adolf Eichmann, leader of Büro IV-B-4 of the RSHA. The genocide was essentially pursued by the SS, but there were other groups in society (military leaders, businesses, doctors, universities, policemen, Reichsbahn) as well as the administrations of the states that collaborated with Germany.</p>
References to individual responsibility/accountability	No

<p>Does the book use 'distancing techniques' in order to escape collective guilt issues (minimizing differences between victims, self-victimization or comparing victims with other sufferings like <i>Heimatvertriebenen</i>, German civilians)?</p>	<p>In chapter 18 (Frankreich im Zweiten Weltkrieg) there is a dossier on antisemitic persecutions in France. In October 1940 and June 1941 the Vichy-regime ordered the incarceration of a part of foreign Jews in camps. The German forced a number of measures upon them as wearing yellow stars. The occupational forces forced the French authorities from 1942 onwards to deport the Jews. The Vichy government supported these measures through engaging bureaucratic staff and police forces in order to be able to obtain some political concessions. The Vichy government proved to be a willing ally of the German occupier, by assisting in the persecution of Jews and resistance fighters. A large part of the 350,000 Jews in France were supported by the parts of the French population, especially when it concerned children. Nevertheless, some 75,000 Jews – one third of those having French nationality – were deported from France. Especially to Auschwitz, only 2,500 survived.</p> <p>In the sources however, some distancing techniques are provided: the Jewish boy who went to school for the first time with a star attached to his clothes was received the warmest welcome by his teacher and class mates ('it was then that I understood the Republic's devise 'Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité'), Victor Fajnzilber did not have to wear the star because he was a war invalid and the Vichy government did not implement the obligation to wear a star in the south. The exhibition on 'Der Jude und Frankreich' in Paris in September 1941 was organized by the Gestapo (although 300,000 visitors came). Last source on a protest of the bishop of Toulouse, August 1942 against the deportations. The letter was read in all churches of the diocese; Jews are people, terrible things happen to them, they are our brothers. Last sentence: 'France, you noble and generous country, I do not doubt it. You are not responsible for these horrors'.</p>
<p>In what ways are outcomes of the historical debate conveyed?</p>	<p>Many ways, see above</p>

2.3 Linguistic analysis

<p>What words, names, terminology and controversies with regard to culpability and the Holocaust are used?</p>	<p>Einsatzgruppen: units of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) and SD (belonging to the SS) whose task it was to murder "Reichsfeinde".</p> <p>The word Shoah is used. The textbook states that this word, derived from Hebrew for 'catastrophe', appeared in the 1970's to indicate the singular character of the genocide on the Jews. The use of the word 'Holocaust', in the United States and Germany, is often been criticized because of the fact that it is described in the Bible as victims of a religious sacrifice.</p> <p>Aktion Reinhardt: codename for the operation for the killing of Jews in the Generalgouvernement (German controlled central Poland). The name probably related to Fritz Reinhardt (state secretary of the Treasury), later was associated with a posthumous honoring of Reinhard Heydrich, who was assassinated in Prague in June 1942.</p>
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3 Victim narratives

3.1 Contextualization and explanation

Most frequently used names in relation to victimhood	<p>Population groups hated by the national-socialists were called '<i>Volksschädlingen</i>'. Victims were especially Jews, Jehova's Witnesses, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, '<i>Arbeitsscheue</i>', '<i>Asoziale</i>' and alcoholics. Einsatzgruppen were ordered to execute all "Jüdisch-bolschewistischen" agents. These were political commissaries and members of the communist party. Soon however, entire Jewish families were massacred. In September 1941 33,771 Jews from Kiev were shot at Babi Yar. With this, the extermination of the Jews began, first limited however to Jews from the Soviet Union. With the failure of the Blitzkrieg in the autumn of 1941, the original plan of relocating the Polish Jews towards the east could no longer be fulfilled. Probably Hitler and his <i>Umfeld</i> then decided to wipe out the entire Jewish population in Europe. In November, the leader of the RSHA Reinhard Heydrich announced a meeting that would deal with the "Endlösung der Judenfrage".</p> <p>From 1942 on German officials liquidated the ghettos of the Generalgouvernement in the "Aktion Reinhardt". From the summer of 1942 onwards west-European Jews were deported into the extermination camps. Yet the Einsatzgruppen continued their "mobilen Mordaktionen" (Raul Hilberg) until 1943, which meant the killing of approximately 1,25 million people.</p> <p>Jews, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, those who wouldn't work or antisocials. With the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, which Hitler had proclaimed as a "Vernichtungskrieg" against communism, a further radicalization of the German domination of foreign territories. Four Einsatzgruppen killed hundreds of thousands civilians, Jews and communists, who were considered as "Reichsfeinde". In this context the "Endlösung der Judenfrage" was prepared.</p> <p>In the T4-operation, where the <i>Kriegsführung</i> [sic] decided in October 1939 that weak individuals and "parasites" were to be eliminated. Patients in German psychiatric hospitals were euthanized, where extermination techniques through gassing was "erprobt". Between January 1940 and August 1941 70,000 (some estimate up to 120,000) were killed through gassing or injections.</p>
Are victims ('Jews', 'gypsies' etc.) or bystanders ('local population', 'technicians', etc.) specifically mentioned?	No individuals, except for some photos of victims: the girl in Lvov, a dying child on a pavement in the Warsaw ghetto, the evacuation of the Warsaw ghetto, an SS soldier who cuts off a beard of a Jew in Poland, a photo of the mass murders in Ukraine, the arrival of Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz.

3.2 Historical actors, events and processes

Are the victims portrayed as part of German society?	No, they were 'Jews' or foreigners
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3.3 Linguistic analysis

What words, names, terminology and controversies on the Holocaust are used?	See above; basically everything; preferring Shoah rather than Holocaust
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Verhalen van slachtofferschap De Holocaust in Duitse en Nederlandse geschiedenisschoolboeken, 1960-1980

Samenvatting

Terwijl de Tweede Wereldoorlog vanaf 1945 een belangrijke positie heeft verworven in het geschiedenisonderwijs in West-Europa, werd de massale vervolging van joden en andere slachtoffergroepen in datzelfde geschiedenisonderwijs in veel landen gedurende de eerste decennia na de oorlog veronachtzaamd. Vóór de jaren zestig bevatten de meeste geschiedenisschoolboeken nauwelijks informatie over de 'Holocaust', mede omdat contemporaine geschiedenis nog slechts een rudimentair onderdeel van het geschiedeniscurriculum uitmaakte. Andere (militaire) aspecten van de Tweede Wereldoorlog kregen meer aandacht. Anno 2017 is die situatie totaal veranderd: de Holocaust is een van de belangrijkste historische thema's geworden in de nationale curricula van veel westerse landen. In 2010 (het laatste jaar van de hier behandelde onderzoeksperiode) zijn nationaalsocialisme en de Holocaust verplichte onderdelen van de leerplannen voor het voortgezet onderwijs in zowel Duitsland als Nederland.

In deze dissertatie wordt de weergave van de 'Holocaust' in geschiedenisschoolboeken voor de bovenbouw van het voortgezet onderwijs, gepubliceerd tussen 1960 en 2010, in de Duitse deelstaat Noordrijn-Westfalen en Nederland geanalyseerd. Hoewel het aantal studies over de Holocaust zeer sterk is toegenomen sinds de jaren negentig, is vergelijkend onderzoek naar de Holocaust in het onderwijs en in lesmethoden schaars.

De centrale onderzoeksvraag is: *Welke verhalen van slachtoffers en andere actoren met betrekking tot de Holocaust zijn aanwezig in Duitse en Nederlandse geschiedenisschoolboeken tussen 1960 en 2010, en hoe kunnen mogelijke veranderingen in deze verhalen worden verklaard?* Om de centrale vraag te kunnen beantwoorden heb ik drie subvragen geformuleerd:

1. Wat zijn de belangrijkste overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen Duitse en Nederlandse geschiedenisschoolboeken inzake feitelijke beschrijving en historische contextualisering van de Holocaust?
2. In hoeverre zijn mogelijke veranderingen in verhalen in de Duitse en Nederlandse geschiedenisschoolboeken gerelateerd aan academische debatten over de Holocaust?
3. In hoeverre zijn mogelijke veranderingen in verhalen in de Duitse en Nederlandse geschiedenisschoolboeken gerelateerd aan didactische ontwikkelingen?

In hoofdstuk 1 worden de historische en maatschappelijke contexten, het theoretisch kader en de gebruikte methoden van het onderzoek besproken. De keuze voor Noordrijn-Westfalen is gemaakt omdat het de grootste Duitse deelstaat is, in grootte en bevolkingsdichtheid vergelijkbaar met Nederland. Het grenst aan Nederland en kan derhalve min of meer als een buurland worden beschouwd. De keuze van een Duitse deelstaat was nodig omdat het Duitse onderwijs – in tegenstelling tot Nederland – geen nationaal curriculum kent, maar verschillende curricula per deelstaat. In de Duitse deelstaten moet het *Kultusministerium* alle lesmethodes die in het voortgezet onderwijs worden gebruikt formeel goedkeuren. In Nederland is er een 'vrije' schoolboekenmarkt.

Deze studie omvat twee, soms overlappende perioden: 1960-1980 en 1980-2010. Voor beide landen zijn in totaal 32 leerboeken geselecteerd. De periodisering reflecteert de ontwikkelingen in de omgang met de Holocaust in Duitsland en Nederland. Tot 1961 werd er in de West-Duitse en Nederlandse schoolboeken nauwelijks besproken wat er tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog met de Joden was gebeurd. Voor het laatste jaar – 2010 – is gekozen om enige afstand te houden tot de onderzoeksperiode. Deze studie behelst kwantitatief en kwalitatief onderzoek naar geschiedenischoolboeken. In het algemeen zijn schoolboeken specifiek geschreven voor gebruik in het onderwijs ter ondersteuning van een syllabus of curriculum. Ze bevatten meestal een verzameling teksten, bronnen, illustraties, kaarten en opdrachten. Het deel met 'feitelijke kennis' wordt vaak het leerboek of 'informatieboek' genoemd; dit deel bevat de belangrijkste informatie over het vakgebied. In de afgelopen jaren zijn de meeste informatieboeken verbonden met oefeningen of opdrachten in werkboeken. Hoewel in recente tijd de meeste leerboeken worden ondersteund door *webbased* materialen, zijn de geschiedenischoolboeken voor mijn onderzoeksperiode 1960-2010 altijd fysieke en ingebonden objecten. De leermiddelen waren tot aan de jaren negentig hardcovers waren met een paar kaarten en illustraties. Hedentendage zijn educatieve middelen echter veel diverser geworden: ze zijn uitgegroeid tot hybride instrumenten voor dagelijks onderwijs en leren, die vaak bestaan uit aparte handboeken, opdrachtenboeken, bijlagen met primaire teksten en bronnen, en in het algemeen ondersteund door handleidingen en materiaal op het internet. Geschiedenischoolboeken kunnen worden gezien als demonstraties van het historische bewustzijn van een samenleving. Veranderingen in geschiedenisleerplannen en -schoolboeken weerspiegelen veranderingen in samenleving en politiek. De geschiedenis van het geschiedenisonderwijs door middel van schoolboekanalyse kan daarom belangrijk zijn om ontwikkelingen in normen en waarden ten aanzien van cultuur, politiek of ideeën aan te tonen en/of te verklaren.

Via een *kwantitatieve analyse* van de geschiedenischoolboeken wordt gekeken naar de frequentie van bepaalde begrippen, het aantal pagina's dat aan het thema wordt besteed, de periodisering, de meest voorkomende namen van personen, de aantallen illustraties en statistieken, primaire bronnen, en functies van de 'paratext' (zoals de lay-out of de gebruikte titels). Dergelijke analysemethoden geven over het algemeen inzicht in grove verschillen tussen leermiddelen waardoor men zicht krijgt op de waardering die de auteurs aan bepaalde thema's toekennen. Met de *kwalitatieve* of *contextanalyse* stelt men vragen naar het 'waarom' van onderdelen van het schoolboek. Op welke wijze en waarom komen bepaalde historische gebeurtenissen, personages of processen voor in de narratieve teksten? Welk taalgebruik wordt gehanteerd en spreekt uit de auteurstekst afstand of juist nabijheid ten aanzien van het thema? Hoe worden onderwerpen historisch, geografisch of didactisch gecontextualiseerd? En wat is de relatie tussen tekst en illustraties? Aan de hand van een dergelijke *contextanalyse* zal de verhouding tussen afzonderlijke begrippen binnen het conceptuele kader van het thema 'Holocaust' worden geanalyseerd. De inhoud van de teksten over de Holocaust wordt geanalyseerd vanuit een narratologische invalshoek: gekeken wordt naar de retoriek en de plotlines. Geïnspireerd door Eviatar Zerubavel, gebruik ik 'plotlines' als een centraal concept om te kunnen onderzoeken hoe de Holocaust is verteld of op andere manieren zichtbaar zijn in de geschiedenischoolboeken. Wat er in de geschiedenischoolboeken voorkomt is natuurlijk maar een klein deel van het verleden; we hebben er collectief voor gekozen om juist dat te onthouden. Vaak ontstaat dat keuzep proces in samenhang met persoonlijke en collectieve identiteiten als een nationale gemeenschap, de familie, een etnische groep, geslacht of beroep. Dit proces van selectie en

identificatie met een collectief verleden verloopt niet zonder problemen; Zerubavel spreekt van 'mnemonische gevechten' in publieke fora zoals het onderwijs of musea.

Er zijn verschillende redenen waarom ik voor deze vergelijkende aanpak gekozen heb. Het vergelijken van geschiedenisschoolboeken die in twee landen zijn geproduceerd kunnen meer informatie geven over de rol die nationale contexten spelen ten aanzien van de inhoud van deze schoolboeken. De vergelijking van de geschiedenisschoolboeken in deze dissertatie betreft opzettelijk een 'daderland' en een bezet land. Ik verwachtte dat een land dat slachtoffer was geweest van onderdrukking en bezetting en onderdrukking zeer specifiek zou zijn in de beschrijving van nationale slachtoffergroepen, en het daderland meer terughoudendheid zou betrachten zijn om de historische verantwoordelijkheid voor de misdaden op zich te nemen. Longitudinale en vergelijkende analyses van geschiedenisschoolboeken zijn nauwelijks voorhanden. Een systematisch, vergelijkend en diepgaand onderzoek naar de ontwikkeling van dominante narratieve weergaven van de Holocaust in geschiedenisschoolboeken bestaat evenmin.

In hoofdstuk 2 wordt een overzicht gegeven van de veranderde status van de Holocaust in de naoorlogse discussies in Europa en elders. Het doel van dit hoofdstuk is om een noodzakelijke historische en historiografische achtergrond te bieden waartegen de Duitse en Nederlandse lesmethoden worden geanalyseerd. De Holocaust is volgens de huidige academische consensus gedefinieerd als de 'systematisch geplande en industrieel uitgevoerde massamoord van Europese joden en andere groepen, bevolkingen en mensen tussen juni 1941 en mei 1945'. Sommige van de slachtoffergroepen werden al ver vóór 1941 gediscrimineerd, uitgesloten, vervolgd, gevangen genomen of gedood, maar het systematische karakter van het moordproces begon met de *Einsatzgruppen* in juni 1941. Mijn analyse van de Holocaust in geschiedenisschoolboeken omvat een bredere historische context van Nazi-repressie (vanaf 1933). Veel van de onderzochte geschiedenisschoolboeken beschrijven de Holocaust in het kader of tegen de achtergrond van het nationaalsocialisme en WOII.

Zowel in Duitsland als in Nederland wordt het Eichmann-proces in Jeruzalem (1961-1962) beschouwd als een eerste keerpunt in de naoorlogse verwerking van de Holocaust. Tijdens en na dit proces werden veel artikelen gepubliceerd over de vervolging van de Joden, de persoonlijkheid van Eichmann en de verwerking van het oorlogsverleden, met name in West-Duitsland. De drie Auschwitz-processen in Frankfurt tijdens de latere jaren zestig kregen eveneens veel media-aandacht. In de jaren tachtig veranderde de publieke aandacht voor de Holocaust pas echt: daarna volgde een uitbarsting van publicaties, culturele uitingen, debatten en monumenten in de (westerse) wereld. Voor het eerst ontstond er aandacht voor de slachtoffers van de genocide. Met name de uitzending van de NBC-serie *Holocaust* in 1978/1979 betekende een belangrijke doorbraak in het Holocaust-bewustzijn van het grote publiek. Miljoenen kijkers keken naar het televisieprogramma. Nog nooit eerder was de Holocaust zo veelbesproken als in die maanden: het was een openbare gebeurtenis van de eerste orde geworden. De discussies namen toe na de cinematografische bijdragen van de Franse filmmaker Claude Lanzmann (*Shoah*) en de Amerikaanse regisseur Steven Spielberg (*Schindler's List*). De slachtoffers van de genocide kregen zo geleidelijk aan een belangrijke plaats in collectieve Holocaust-identiteiten: lijden en trauma werden in de westerse wereld sleutelementen van collectieve herinnering in verschillende naoorlogse Europese samenlevingen.

Tot de jaren negentig concentreerden historici in Duitsland en Nederland zich voornamelijk op de vraag waarom de Holocaust kon plaatsvinden in een relatief beschaafde staat. Nader onderzoek naar wat er precies was gebeurd, kwam pas later op de academische agenda. Door onderzoek naar de rol van de *Einsatzgruppen* in Oost-Europa en

naar de zogenaamde 'cumulatieve radicalisering' van het moordproces, werden de Nazi-misdaden in een ander daglicht geplaatst. Daarbij werd geleidelijk aan de opvatting over de centrale positie van Hitler in het besluitvormingsproces verlaten; andere dadergroepen kwamen eveneens in het vizier.

De nieuwe interpretaties leverden in de historiografie over Holocaust nog steeds weinig ruimte op voor de slachtoffers van de genocide. Net zoals de meerderheid van de daders, werden ze nauwelijks voorgesteld als echte mensen. Hoewel recent onderzoek naar de Holocaust nog voornamelijk gericht is op de daders (van de levens, ideologische standpunten, houdingen, acties en motieven van de politieke leiders van het *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* tot aan de 'ordinary men' van politiebataljons en de *Wehrmacht*), is er in de loop der jaren meer aandacht gevestigd op Sinti en Roma, gehandicapten, Sovjet-krijgsgevangenen, langdurig zieken, homoseksuelen, Jehova's Getuigen en andere slachtoffers van de genocide.

In Nederland was de historiografie over de Tweede Wereldoorlog lange tijd moreel geladen. Door publicaties van historici als Blom, Bank en Van der Heijden werd het beeld van 'de oorlog' diverser en 'genormaliseerd' al bestaat daarover geen unanimitieit in het publieke debat. In contrast tot het Duitse debat, verscheen er in Nederland slechts een beperkt aantal studies over Nederlandse daders ten aanzien van de Jodenvervolgingen. De Nederlandse historiografie heeft nog weinig oog voor de Europese dimensie van de Holocaust, en betracht het thema voornamelijk vanuit een betrekkelijk nationaal perspectief. Joden worden doorgaans veelal als passieve slachtoffers beschreven.

In hoofdstuk 3 worden de voornaamste aspecten van de (West-) Duitse en Nederlandse onderwijssystemen besproken. Met name ontwikkelingen in het geschiedenisonderwijs en de positie van de Holocaust komen hier aan bod. In beide landen zien we dat 'contemporaine geschiedenis' in de loop der jaren een belangrijke positie is gaan innemen. Thema's als De Tweede Wereldoorlog, het nationaalsocialisme en de Holocaust kwamen daarmee – in wisselende hoedanigheden – in het geschiedenisonderwijs aan bod. Tegenwoordig wordt – met name in Duitsland – een thema als de Holocaust vaak in verband gebracht met actuele en algemene humanitaire thema's. In Nederland is er vanaf de jaren negentig veel discussie gevoerd over een nieuw geschiedeniscurriculum, waarbij meer aandacht moest komen voor nationale aspecten van het verleden. In Duitsland lag dat gecompliceerder: een nationale benadering van de geschiedenis werd niet mogelijk geacht vanwege het Nazi-verleden, waardoor thema's als de Tweede Wereldoorlog en de Holocaust veeleer vanuit een transnationaal perspectief werden bestudeerd.

Hoofdstuk 4 is gewijd aan de analyse van een selectie van geschiedenisboekjes uit West-Duitsland en Nederland in de periode tussen 1960 en 1980. In beide landen is de Holocaust in toenemende mate aanwezig in de geschiedenisboekjes. De meeste echter voldoen niet aan academische en publieke historische bevindingen die toentertijd bekend waren. Aan de complexiteit van de Holocaust, hoewel goed gedocumenteerd in academische studies, literatuur of documentaires op dat moment, wordt geen recht gedaan in de schoolboekjes uit beide landen. In geen van de geselecteerde leermiddelen zijn feitelijke weergaven volledig accuraat. De historische context van het joodse leven in Europa is volledig afwezig: de joodse geschiedenis voor en na de Tweede Wereldoorlog is niet opgenomen in de Nederlandse en West-Duitse lesmethoden. Het perspectief van de daders overheerst; de nadruk ligt op de acties van de Nazi's en hun medeplichtigen. In de meeste gevallen wordt de Holocaust gezien als een bijproduct van de Tweede Wereldoorlog, en niet zozeer als het meest tragische aspect van het Joodse leven in Europa. De rijkdom van de Joodse cultuur en de moeilijkheden in de lange relatie tussen joden en niet-joden in Duitsland en Nederland worden veelal gemarginaliseerd of niet genoemd.

In dit opzicht kan men stellen dat West-Duitse en Nederlandse geschiedenis­school­boeken uit de jaren zestig en zeventig de moeilijke nalatenschap van het nationaalsocialisme uit de weg zijn gegaan. Aspecten van persoonlijke of collectieve aansprakelijkheid in de narratieven ontbreken in het geheel. In West-Duitsland zou een dergelijke *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* oude wonden hebben geopend; de focus lag veeleer op de opbouw van de nieuwe West-Duitse staat en samenleving. Het werd daardoor gemakkelijker om verhalen over heldhaftig verzet tegen de Nazi's of het Duitse slachtofferschap te benadrukken. De Nazi-dictatuur werd geportretteerd als een gruwelijk, elitair en totalitair regime, waarbij de aandacht werd weggeleid van de massale steun van de bevolking voor de Nazi-ideologie. In de West-Duitse leerboeken uit deze steekproef domineren de *rise-fall-plotlines* in het vertoog over de recente geschiedenis. Het tragisch scenario dat zich voordeed bij de opkomst van het nationaalsocialisme impliceerde volgens de geschiedenis­school­boeken dat de Duitse bevolking na 1933 misleid werd door enkele criminelen die gruwelijke misdrijven begingen. Met name de almachtige, boze, onverantwoordelijke en soms krankzinnige Führer manipuleerde het onschuldige en blijkbaar onwetende Duitse volk. De echte slachtoffers van het nationaalsocialisme waren dus 'gewone' Duitsers, niet de Joden. De Holocaust kreeg derhalve weinig aandacht: de vervolging van de Joden en andere slachtoffers werd ondergebracht in tekstfragmenten over de oorlog. Veel historici, auteurs en docenten hadden tijdens de oorlog gediend en zich niet volledig losgemaakt van het nationaalsocialisme, zodat ze het onderwerp vermeden.

In Nederland werden joden na de oorlog niet erkend door de Nederlandse regering of door vroegere verzetsbewegingen als een specifieke slachtoffergroep. In deze zin bleven de joden gemarginaliseerd in de maatschappij; de vervolgingen bleven lange tijd onbesproken. De Nederlandse samenleving raakte verstrikt in de Koude Oorlog, waarbij een nieuwe vorm van totalitarisme zich aankondigde. Pas in de jaren zestig werd de Nederlandse samenleving zich geleidelijk bewust van de omvang van deze tragedie, vanaf de jaren tachtig kregen joden geleidelijk meer publieke aandacht. In de Nederlandse lesmethoden kregen deze 'passieve slachtoffers' van de vervolgingen geen speciale positie toegemeten; de nadruk lag voornamelijk op het nationale slachtofferschap, de wederopbouw van het land of oorlogs- en verzetshelden. In de Nederlandse geschiedenis­les­methoden in de periode 1960-1980 zijn generalisaties over joden gebruikelijk en sommige leerboeken gebruiken Nazi-concepten zonder nadere toelichting. In de hier onderzochte leermiddelen wordt de Holocaust voorgesteld als een kwestie tussen de Duitsers en de Joden. Alle Nederlandse lesmethoden beschrijven de Holocaust vanuit Duits daderperspectief, waarbij de Nederlandse bevolking als slachtoffergroep wordt beschreven, die over het algemeen niet in staat was om zich tegen deze vervolgingen te verzetten vanwege het meedogenloze en totalitaire karakter van het Duitse bezettingsbeleid. De Nederlanders lijken niet deel te nemen aan dit deel van de geschiedenis; ook de houding en medewerking van Nederlandse ambtenaren worden niet genoemd. Over het algemeen wordt het lot van de Nederlandse Joden nauwelijks genoemd. In deze zin tonen de Nederlandse leermiddelen de Tweede Wereldoorlog en de Holocaust in termen van *fall-rise-plotlines*: een onafhankelijk land werd bezet door Nazi-Duitsland, de bevolking leed in deze lange periode van verval, maar uiteindelijk was het heldhaftige resultaat van de 'bevrijding' de herwinning van de nationale soevereiniteit. De slachtoffers in dit verhaal waren degenen die zich tegen de Duitsers hadden gekeerd, niet de joden.

De vraag is of in latere periodes, met een toenemende temporele afstand en na nieuwe wetenschappelijke en publieke debatten over het (Joodse) slachtofferschap, er een meer nauwkeurige, gediversifieerde en/of internationalere kijk op de Holocaust werd

geboden in de geschiedenischoolboeken. Dat wordt beschreven in hoofdstuk 5, waar leermiddelen uit beide landen worden vergeleken uit de periode 1980-2010. Vergeleken met de eerste periode kreeg de Holocaust in de latere lesmethoden uit beide landen veel meer gedetailleerde aandacht. Over het algemeen wordt de vervolging van de Europese Joden niet langer gezien als een geïsoleerde handeling van een paar criminelen, maar wordt de Holocaust beter gecontextualiseerd binnen een kader van historische, sociale en economische ontwikkelingen tussen 1933 en 1945. Wie daarvoor precies verantwoordelijk is geweest wordt echter nog vaak in algemene en vage termen besproken.

Schoolboekauteurs gebruiken nog altijd Nazi-terminologieën, hetgeen gezien kan worden als een impliciete manier om het perspectief van het slachtoffer te vermijden. Dus hoewel het Holocaustbewustzijn vanaf de jaren tachtig een nieuw niveau had bereikt, blijven de slachtoffers relatief afwezig in de geschiedenischoolboeken. In de Duitse geschiedenischoolboeken worden vaker andere slachtoffergroepen genoemd, maar het problematische hieraan is dat elke groep een andere geschiedenis heeft met betrekking tot de Holocaust. Het historische beeld van de Holocaust dat in de Duitse geschiedenischoolboeken wordt geschetst is een West-Europees perspectief. De tragische gebeurtenissen in Oost-Europa spelen geen belangrijke rol in Holocaust-narratieven in de lesmethoden. Oost-Europa is relatief afwezig door de 'westerse' focus op Auschwitz, waar de meeste joden uit West-Europa waren vermoord. Bovendien is 'Holocaust-onderwijs' uitgegroeid tot een manier om te leren over mensenrechtenkwesties, waarbij er soms sprake is van een instrumentalisering van het verleden. Het risico is dat daardoor de historische dimensie van de Holocaust wordt verwaarloosd.

In de Nederlandse geschiedenischoolboeken wordt de Holocaust vaak direct of indirect gekoppeld aan vooroorlogs antisemitisme in Duitsland. In het algemeen hebben Nederlandse lesmethoden veel moeite om de Holocaust in de context van de Europese geschiedenis te positioneren. De meeste Nederlandse geschiedenismethoden die hier zijn geanalyseerd, negeren de complexiteit van de Holocaust. De historische weergaven zijn onvoldoende nauwkeurig, de historische context van het jodendom is volledig afwezig en het 'daderperspectief' is in de meeste geschiedenischoolboeken nog steeds het meest dominante. Het antisemitisme wordt voornamelijk beschreven als een Duits fenomeen. In tegenstelling tot hun Duitse tegenhangers slagen Nederlandse geschiedenischoolboeken er niet goed in om leerlingen zicht te bieden op de omstandigheden die hebben bijgedragen aan de massale vervolgingen en moordacties. Veel van de informatie die in de schoolboeken wordt geboden kenmerkt zich door een relatief grote afstand tot (recente) academische debatten. Nederlandse geschiedenischoolboeken blijven zich daardoor richten op stereotypische daderperspectieven, en veronachtzamen overwegend het slachtofferperspectief. Bovendien spelen de gebeurtenissen in Oost-Europa vanaf 1941 nauwelijks een rol in de Nederlandse lesmethoden; het nationale perspectief op de oorlog en de Jodenvervolgingen overheerst. Nederlandse geschiedenischoolboeken zijn Auschwitz-gericht, en hebben nauwelijks oog voor de andere vernietigingskampen, de *Einsatzgruppen* of *Operation Reinhard*. Historische inbedding, zoals in het joodse leven in Nederland voor en na de oorlog, ontbreekt geheel. Geschiedenischoolboeken gebruiken veel voorbeelden van Nazi-propaganda om het antisemitisme te illustreren, maar veelal zonder kritische en historische inleiding, contextualisering of gereedschappen tot deconstructie. Het gevaar is dat leerlingen onwillekeurig dergelijke discriminerende en stereotype afbeeldingen van joden overnemen. In plaats van te verwijzen naar joden als mensen met rijke culturele achtergronden die voor de Europese vooroorlogse samenlevingen van groot belang waren, worden zij in de geanalyseerde leermiddelen gereduceerd tot een amorfe groep van slachtoffers. Door de overheersing van het nationaal

perspectief in de Nederlandse leermiddelen hebben ouders een 'gezicht', maar de slachtoffers niet of nauwelijks. In het algemeen geven Nederlandse leermiddelen geen informatie over wat er eigenlijk is gebeurd, waar het is gebeurd of hoe het is gebeurd. Auschwitz-Birkenau is het centrale referentiekader; andere vernietigingskampen worden nauwelijks genoemd. Dit is merkwaardig omdat in Sobibór bijvoorbeeld meer dan 34.000 Nederlandse Joden werden vermoord. In alle twintig Nederlandse schoolboeken die zijn geanalyseerd, is er slechts één boek, gepubliceerd in 2009, dat de vraag stelt hoe deze misdaden in Europa hebben kunnen plaatsvinden. In de Nederlandse geschiedenis schoolboeken wordt de Holocaust weergegeven als een vreselijk hoofdstuk uit de Duitse geschiedenis. Daarmee wordt de mogelijke collectieve verantwoordelijkheid van Nederlanders op afstand gezet en de collectieve 'verzetsmythe' impliciet voortgezet. Zulks, terwijl al lang algemeen bekend is dat veel Nederlanders steun hebben geboden aan de Duitse oorlogsinspanningen, dat de meeste Nederlandse ambtenaren meewerkten aan het Duitse bestuur en dat veel gewone burgers meestal passieve omstanders waren. Zelfs waren sommigen actief betrokken bij de vervolging van Joden. Nederlandse geschiedenis schoolboeken blijven echter een beeld schetsen van een natie als slachtoffer van onderdrukking, waardoor de Tweede Wereldoorlog en de Holocaust in een nationaal kader worden ingelijfd.

In de Duitse geschiedenis schoolboeken die na 1980 gepubliceerd werden, domineren de traditionele *rise-fall-plotlines* niet langer. Hoewel het jaar 1945 nog als een 'keerpunt' wordt voorgesteld, behandelen de geschiedenis schoolboeken het naziverleden in toenemende mate in samenhang met historische continuïteiten in de Duitse geschiedenis, door zich te concentreren op meer uiteenlopende vader- en slachtoffergroepen en door zowel de voortdurende verantwoordelijkheid van een degelijke omgang met het verleden te benadrukken. De geschiedenis schoolboeken tonen aldus 'zigzag'-plotlines, die een combinatie van zowel een opwaartse (het herstel na 1945) en de neerwaartse (de last van een voortdurende aanwezigheid van het Nationaal Socialisme) blootleggen. Nederlandse geschiedenis schoolboeken blijven echter volharden in een eenzijdig beeld van de Holocaust, van de geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens WOII en van de Joodse geschiedenis tijdens de twintigste eeuw. *Fall-rise-plotlines* blijven de geschiedenis schoolboeken domineren. Het 'nieuwe begin' na de Tweede Wereldoorlog creëert een terugkeer naar de traditionele Nederlandse identiteit, waardoor het niet essentieel is om lastige aspecten van dat verleden aan te pakken. In deze context hebben Nederlandse geschiedenis schoolboeken de 'Holocaust' 'geëxternaliseerd', waardoor de Nederlandse betrokkenheid daarbij wordt verwaarloosd.

Tot slot doe ik drie aanbevelingen die voortvloeien uit mijn onderzoek. Ten eerste is het van belang dat de relaties tussen auteurs van leermiddelen voor het vak geschiedenis, uitgeverijen en onderzoekers worden versterkt. In beide landen ontbreken de nodige historische contextualisering en belangrijke historische details in de geschiedenis schoolboeken. Lesmethoden voor het vak geschiedenis blijven zodoende simpele antwoorden geven op complexe vraagstukken. Concreet stel ik voor dat er een platform wordt gecreëerd waar docenten, schoolboek auteurs, curriculum deskundigen en academici samenwerken teneinde de inhoudelijke en didactische kwaliteit van leermiddelen te borgen.

Ten tweede acht ik het van belang dat nationale narratieven in het geschiedenis onderwijs en in leermiddelen worden gedeconstrueerd door leerlingen meervoudige perspectieven en tegenstrijdige meningen te bieden. Veel leermiddelen demonstreren problemen bij het positioneren van belangrijke historische thema's als de

Tweede Wereldoorlog en de Holocaust als een internationale reeks van gebeurtenissen, die een breder in het kader van de Europese of niet-westerse geschiedenis kunnen worden verklaard.

Als derde aanbeveling pleit ik voor meer onderzoek naar het gebruik van leermiddelen in geschiedenisonderwijs, met name over omstreden thema's als de Holocaust. We weten nog maar weinig over de mate waarin docenten en leerlingen omgaan met leermiddelen als educatieve instrumenten. Naar ik hoop kan een dergelijk onderzoek worden uitgevoerd in een internationale context. Zoals de vergelijking tussen geschiedenisboekjes uit Duitsland en Nederland relevante inzichten biedt in de manier waarop een 'daderland' en een 'slachtofferland' hun oorlogshistorie in het onderwijs aan de orde hebben gesteld, kunnen we de omgang met dergelijke omstreden historische thema's binnen het onderwijs beter begrijpen en waar nodig verbeteren. Bovendien kan het resultaat educatieve instanties ondersteunen door hun inzicht te verschaffen in de veranderende inhoud en nieuwe normen voor modern geschiedenisonderwijs.

Plotlines of Victimhood

The Holocaust in German and Dutch History Textbooks, 1960-2010

Summary

While WWII has gained an important position in history education in Western Europe since 1945, became the persecution of the Jews and other victims neglected during the first decades after the war neglected in schooling in many countries. Before the 1960s, most history textbooks hardly contained information about the 'Holocaust', partly because contemporary history was still a rudimentary part of the history curriculum. In addition, many teachers and textbook authors did not seem to be willing to discuss the persecutions of the Jews in class. Other (military) aspects of the Second World War gained more attention. Anno 2017, the situation has changed completely: the Holocaust has become one of the most important historical themes in the national curricula of many (western) countries. In 2010 (the last year of my research period), National Socialism and the Holocaust have become mandatory parts of the secondary education curricula in Germany and the Netherlands. In this dissertation I have studied fifty years of narrating the Holocaust in history textbooks for upper secondary education, published between 1960 and 2010, in North Rhine-Westphalia (one of the federal states of Germany) and the Netherlands. Although the number of Holocaust studies has increased sharply since the 1990s, comparative research into the Holocaust in education and textbooks is scarce.

The **central research question** is: *Which narrative plotlines of victimhood and agency about the Holocaust are present in German and Dutch history textbooks between 1960 and 2010, and how can possible changes in these plotlines be explained?*

To be able to answer the central question, I have formulated three sub-questions:

1. What are main similarities and differences between German and Dutch history textbooks concerning the presented facts and contextualization of the Holocaust?
2. To what extent are possible changes in narrative plotlines related to academic debates on the Holocaust in the textbook narratives?
3. To what extent are possible changes in narrative plotlines related to didactical developments in the textbook narratives?

Chapter 1 discusses the historical and social contexts, the theoretical framework and the methodologies used in this research. The choice for North Rhine-Westphalia was made because it is the largest German state, in size and density of the population comparable to the Netherlands. It borders the Netherlands and can therefore be more or less a neighboring country. In addition, the choice of a German state was necessary because German education - unlike in the Netherlands - does not have a national curriculum but different curricula per state. In all of the German states, the Ministry of Culture must formally approve all teaching methods used in (secondary) education. In the Netherlands there is a 'free' schoolbook market. This research consists essentially of two, sometimes overlapping periods: 1960-1980 and 1980-2010. A total of 32 textbooks have been selected for both countries; the details of which are discussed in the empirical chapters 4 and 5. This periodization reflects developments in dealing with the Holocaust in (West) Germany and the Netherlands. Until 1961, West German and Dutch textbooks hardly raised or discussed the topic of the Holocaust. I have analyzed textbooks until 2010 in order to keep a distance to the research period. Although the number of

Holocaust studies has increased dramatically since the 1990s, comparative research into the Holocaust in education and teaching methods is relatively small. This study involves quantitative and qualitative research into history textbooks. In general, textbooks are specifically written for the use in education in order to support a syllabus or curriculum. They usually contain a collection of texts, sources, illustrations, maps and assignments. The part containing 'factual knowledge' is often referred to as the textbook or 'information book'; this section contains the most important information about a certain topic. In recent years, most of the textbooks are linked to exercises or assignments in workbooks. Although nowadays many textbooks are supported by web-based materials, the history textbooks analyzed in this research are always physical objects. Until the 1990s, most textbooks hardly contained illustrations or assignments. Over the years, textbooks have become much more diverse and presently are hybrid tools for education, often consisting of separate textbooks, workbooks with assignments, primary texts and sources, and generally supported by manuals and internet support. History textbooks can be seen as demonstrations of the historical consciousness of a society. Changes in history curricula and textbooks therefore reflect changes in society and in politics. The history of history education through textbook analysis can therefore be important for demonstrating or explaining developments in societies' ideas about culture or politics.

A quantitative analysis of history textbooks looks at the frequency of certain concepts, the number of pages spent on a topic, the most common names of individuals, the numbers of illustrations and statistics, primary sources, and features of the 'paratext' (such as the layout or the titles). Such analytical methods generally provide insight into gross differences between textbooks, and the appreciation that authors attribute to certain themes. The qualitative or context analysis deals with questions about the 'why' of textbook components. In what way and why do certain historical events, characters or processes occur in narrative texts? What language is used and what can be said about the author's distance or proximity to the topic? How are topics historically, geographically or didactically contextualized? And what is the relationship between text and illustrations? On the basis of such a context analysis, the conceptual framework of the Holocaust is analyzed from a narrative point of view: rhetoric and plotlines are considered. Inspired by Eviatar Zerubavel, I use 'plotlines' as a central concept to investigate how the Holocaust has been told or in what other ways it has become 'visible' in the history textbooks. What occurs in history textbooks is only a small part of the past; that what we collectively have decided to remember. Often, this process is created in conjunction with personal and collective identities such as the nation, the family, an ethnic group, gender or profession. This process of selection and identification with a collective past does not run smoothly; Zerubavel speaks of 'mnemonic fights' in public forums such as education or museums.

There are several reasons why I have chosen for this comparative approach. Comparing history textbooks that have been produced in two countries can provide more information about the role the national contexts play with regard to the content of these textbooks. In this dissertation, the comparison of Holocaust narratives in the history textbooks deliberately concerns a 'country of perpetrators' and an 'occupied country'. I expected that textbooks from a country that had been victim of oppression and occupation and oppression would be very specific in the description of different victims and that textbooks from the 'perpetrator country' would be reluctant in taking on historical responsibility for the crimes committed. Longitudinal and comparative analyzes of history textbooks barely exist; a systematic, comparative and in-depth investigation into the development of dominant Holocaust narratives in history

textbooks does not exist either.

Chapter 2 offers an overview of the changed status of the Holocaust in post-war Europe and elsewhere. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a necessary historical and historiographic background before analyzing German and Dutch textbooks. The Holocaust, according to the current academic consensus, is defined as the 'systematically planned and industrialized massacre of European Jews and other groups, populations and people between June 1941 and May 1945'. Some of the abovementioned victims were persecuted long before 1941, yet the systematic nature of the murder process began with the *Einsatzkommandos* in June 1941. This analysis of Holocaust narratives in history textbooks has been done including the wider historical context of Nazi repression from 1933 onwards. Many of the textbooks describe the Holocaust in the context of or against the background of National Socialism and WWII.

Both in West Germany and the Netherlands, the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem (1961-1962) is considered a first turning point in post-war Holocaust processing. During and after this trial, many publications followed about the persecution of the Jews, the personality of Eichmann or the processing of the war, especially in West Germany. The three Auschwitz trials in Frankfurt in later years also received a lot of media attention. It was not until the 1980s that public attention for the Holocaust really changed: from that decade on an enormous amount of publications, cultural expressions, debates and monuments flooded the (western) world. For the first time, genuine attention was paid to the victims of the genocide. In particular, the broadcast of the NBC series *Holocaust* in 1978/79 meant a major breakthrough for Holocaust awareness of the general public. Hundreds of millions of viewers watched this tv-series. Never before was the Holocaust discussed as much as in those months: it had become a public event of the first degree. Further debates followed after the cinematographic contributions by French filmmaker Claude Lanzmann (*Shoah*) and American director Steven Spielberg (*Schindler's List*). The victims of the genocide gradually became an important part of collective Holocaust identities: the suffering and trauma became key elements of collective memory in various Western European societies.

Until the 1990s academic historians in Germany and the Netherlands focused mainly on why the Holocaust could have taken place in a relatively civilized state. *What* exactly had happened was more or less neglected. By investigating the role of the *Einsatzgruppen* in Eastern Europe and the so-called 'cumulative radicalization' of the murder process, Nazi crimes were placed in a different daylight. In addition, Hitler's central position in the decision-making process was gradually abandoned; other perpetrators also appeared in sight. Recent Holocaust research is still mainly aimed at perpetrators (from the lives, ideological positions, attitudes, actions and motives of the political leaders of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* to the 'ordinary men' of police battalions and the Wehrmacht). Although still not fully balanced, more attention has been paid to the victims of the Holocaust over the years, however. Research has unveiled new victim groups (such as Sinti and Roma, disabled persons, Soviet prisoners of war, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses).

In the Netherlands, the history of WWII has been defined in moral terms of 'good' and 'bad' for a long time. Through publications of historians like Blom, Bank and Van der Heijden, the image of 'the war' became more diversified and 'normalized'. Contrary to the German debate, however, there have been only a limited number of studies in the Netherlands about Dutch perpetrators. Dutch historiography still lacks attention for the European dimension of the Holocaust, and continues to rely on the topic from a national perspective. The focus on Jewish victimization is limited.

Chapter 3 discusses the main aspects of the (West) German and Dutch education systems. In particular developments in the field of history education, and the position of the Holocaust are discussed here. In both countries, we see that 'contemporary history' has gained an important position over the years. Topics such as the WWII, National Socialism and the Holocaust are increasingly present in history education. Today, a topic like the Holocaust, in particular in Germany, is closely linked to current and general humanitarian themes. In the Netherlands, there has been a lot of discussion about a new history curriculum in the 1990s, when some claimed that more attention ought to be paid to national history. In Germany, this was more complicated: a national approach to history was not considered possible because of the national-socialist past. The tendency there is to explore issues such as WWII and the Holocaust from a transnational perspective.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the analysis of a selection of textbooks from West Germany and the Netherlands between 1960 and 1980. In both countries, the Holocaust is increasingly present in the textbooks. However, most do not meet academic and public historical findings that were known at the time. The complexity of the Holocaust, although well documented in academic studies, literature or documentaries in that era, has not been met in the textbooks. None of them are completely accurate. The historical context of Jewish life in Europe is completely absent: Jewish history before and after WWII is not included in West German and Dutch textbooks. The perpetrator's perspective prevails; the Holocaust is mainly understood through emphasizing the actions undertaken by Nazis and their accomplices. In most cases, the Holocaust is seen as a by-product of WWII, not as the most tragic aspect of Jewish life in Europe. The richness of Jewish culture and the difficulties in the long relationship between Jews and non-Jews in Germany and the Netherlands are often marginalized or not mentioned at all. In this sense, it can be argued that West German and Dutch textbooks from the 1960s and 1970s circumvented the difficult legacy of National Socialism. Many authors and teachers were not able to distance themselves sufficiently from this part of the past, or avoided aspects of personal or collective liability. In West Germany, such a *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* could have opened old wounds; many historians, authors and teachers could not completely detach themselves from National Socialism so avoided the subject. Instead, society focused more on the construction of the new West German state. This made it easier to emphasize stories about heroic resistance to the Nazis or about German victimhood. The Nazi dictatorship was portrayed as a horrific, elitist and totalitarian regime, neglecting the massive support of the population for Nazi ideology. In the West German textbooks from this sample, *rise-fall-plotlines* dominate the story of recent history. The tragic scenario that led to the rise of National Socialism implied, according to the textbooks, that the German population was misled by some criminals after 1933 who later committed horrible crimes. In particular, the almighty, angry, irresponsible and sometimes insane Führer manipulated the innocent and apparently ignorant German people. The true victims of National Socialism were 'ordinary' Germans, not the Jews. The Holocaust, therefore, received little attention: the persecution of the Jews and other victims was housed in textual fragments about the war.

In the Netherlands after 1945, Jews were not recognized by the Dutch government or by former resistance movements as a specific victim group. The Holocaust remained tabooed for a long time. In this sense, the Jews remained marginalized in society. Dutch society became entangled in the Cold War, and a new form of totalitarianism had to be tackled. During the 1960s Dutch society gradually

became aware of the extent of the Jewish tragedy, and particularly since the 1980s Jewish victimhood gradually gained more public attention. In the Dutch textbooks, however, these 'passive victims' of the persecutions this was another matter. WWII continued to be treated through concepts of national victimization, devastations of the country and resistance heroes. In the selection of Dutch history textbooks published between 1960-1980 generalizations about Jews are common and some textbooks use Nazi concepts without further explanation. In the textbooks, the Holocaust is presented as an issue between the Germans and the Jews. All of them describe the Holocaust from a perpetrator perspective, and consider the Dutch population as the main victim group. The country and its population were unable to resist the persecutions against Jews because of the relentless and totalitarian character of German occupation. The Dutch do not seem to participate in this part of history; the collaborative attitude of Dutch officials are not mentioned. In general, the fate of the Dutch Jews is hardly mentioned. In this sense, Dutch textbooks portray WWII and the Holocaust in terms of *fall-rise plotlines*: an independent country was occupied by Nazi Germany, the population suffered in this long period of decay but eventually the heroic result of the 'Liberation' resulted in reclaiming national sovereignty. The victims in this story were those who turned against the Germans, not the Jews.

The question is whether in later periods, with an increasing temporal distance and after new academic and public debates about Jewish victimization, a more accurate, diversified and international view of the Holocaust was offered in the textbooks. This is described in chapter 5, where textbooks from both countries are compared in the period between 1980 and 2010. Compared with the years 1960-1980, the Holocaust received much more detailed attention in the later textbooks from both countries. In general, the persecution of the European Jews is no longer seen as an isolated act of a few criminals. The Holocaust is contextualized more within a framework of historical, social and economic developments that occurred between 1933 and 1945. Who precisely had been responsible, however, is often discussed in general and vague terms. Textbook authors continue to use Nazi terminology, which can be seen as an implicit way to avoid the victim's perspective. Although the Holocaust had reached a new and different level of consciousness from the 1980s onwards, the victims still remained relatively absent in the textbooks. The Western European perspective on the Holocaust dominates German textbooks. The tragic events in Eastern Europe do not play an important role in Holocaust narratives through the 'western' focus on Auschwitz-Birkenau. In addition, 'Holocaust Education' has become a way of learning about general human rights issues, sometimes involving an instrumentalization of the past. The danger is that the historical dimension of the Holocaust becomes neglected.

In Dutch textbooks, the Holocaust is often linked directly or indirectly to pre-war antisemitism in Germany. In general, Dutch textbooks demonstrate difficulties in positioning the Holocaust within the context of European history. Most Dutch history textbooks that I have analyzed ignore the complexity of the Holocaust. Factual descriptions are largely inaccurate, the historical context of Judaism is completely absent and the 'perpetrator perspective' is still dominant. Antisemitism is mainly described as a German phenomenon. Unlike their German counterparts, Dutch textbooks do not describe the circumstances that have contributed to the persecutions and murder process. This seems to reflect the relative distance of Dutch textbook authors to (recent) academic debates. Dutch textbooks thus focus on stereotypical images of the perpetrators, and largely ignore the victim's perspective. Moreover, the events in Eastern Europe hardly play a part; the national perspective on the war prevails. Dutch

textbooks hardly discuss the other death camps, the *Einsatzgruppen* or *Operation Reinhard*. Proper historical embedding, such pre-war antisemitism or Jewish life in the Netherlands, is completely absent. The textbooks use many examples of Nazi propaganda to illustrate antisemitism, but often without critical and historical introduction, contextualization or tools for deconstruction. The danger is that students will randomly incorporate such discriminatory and stereotypical images of Jews. Instead of referring to Jews as people with cultural backgrounds that were of great importance to European pre-war society, they are reduced to an anonymous group of victims. Due to the domination of the national perspective in Dutch textbooks, perpetrators have a 'face' but the victims have not. In general, Dutch textbooks do not provide information about what has actually happened, where it happened or how it happened. Auschwitz-Birkenau is the central reference framework; other death camps are hardly mentioned. This is strange because, for example, more than 34,000 Dutch Jews were killed in Sobibór. In all twenty Dutch textbooks that I have analyzed, there is only one (published in 2009) that poses the question how these crimes have taken place in Europe. The Holocaust is portrayed as a terrible chapter in German history, and not as part of Jewish or Dutch history. Thus, the collective 'resistance myth' is implicitly continued, although it has been widely known that many Dutch supported the German war effort, and that most Dutch officials participated in German government. Many ordinary citizens were passive bystanders and some were even actively involved in the persecution of the Jews. Dutch textbooks, however, continue to depict a nation as a victim of repression, positioning WWII and the Holocaust into a national framework. It is therefore essential to finally historicize the war years.

In the German history textbooks published after 1980, the traditional *rise-fall plotlines* are no longer dominant. Although the year 1945 is still presented as a turning point, the history textbooks increasingly deal with the Nazi-past by introducing historical continuities in German society, by focusing on broader and more diverse perpetrator and victim groups, and by featuring both the social accomplishment of dealing with the past as the ongoing responsibility of this *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. The textbooks thus demonstrate 'zigzag' narratives, that expose a combination of both upward (the recovery after 1945) and downward (the burden of a continuous presence of National Socialism) plotlines. Dutch history textbooks, however, persist in a one-sided view of the Holocaust, of the history of the Netherlands during WWII and of Jewish history during the twentieth century. *Fall-rise plotlines* continue to dominate the history textbooks. The 'new beginning' after WWII creates a return to traditional Dutch identity, through which troublesome aspects of that past are not tackled. In this context, Dutch history textbooks 'externalize' the Holocaust, thereby neglecting Dutch involvement.

Finally, I would like to make three recommendations that result from my research. First, it is important to strengthen the relationships between authors of textbooks, publishers and researchers. In both countries, textbooks lack the necessary historical contextualization and important historical details. Consequently, textbooks continue to provide simple answers to complex issues. In concrete terms, I propose to create a platform where teachers, textbook authors, curriculum experts and academics work together to ensure the content and didactic quality of teaching resources.

Secondly, I consider it important to further deconstruct national narratives in history education and teaching materials through offering students multiple perspectives and contradictory opinions. Many textbooks demonstrate problems in positioning important historical topics such as WWII and the Holocaust as an

international series of events that can be explained from the wider context of European or non-Western history.

As a third recommendation, I would like to make a plea for more research into the use of textbooks in history education, especially on controversial themes such as the Holocaust. We know little about the extent to which teachers and students deal with learning tools such as textbooks. I hope that such research can be conducted in an international context. As the comparison between textbooks from Germany and the Netherlands offers interesting insights into the way in which a 'perpetrator country' and a 'victim country' have narrated WWII and the Holocaust in education, we can better understand the handling of such controversial historical topics in education. In addition, the result can support educational agencies by providing insight into changing content and the creation of new standards in modern history education.

Short Biography of the author

Marc van Berkel (1961) holds a degree in History from Leiden University, the Netherlands. After graduation he worked as a company journalist for the National Education Centre in the Hospitality Industry. After that he lived and worked for several years in Rostock, former GDR, where he was responsible for the education of recently unemployed East-Germans from that region. After returning to the Netherlands he worked as a history teacher and counsellor at Dalton Comprehensive School in Voorburg (1993-2007). In the meantime, he worked as a lecturer of Modern European History at the Leiden-based Central College of Iowa (1997-2016) and joined the Education Staff of the Amsterdam Institute of German Studies (DIA) in 2005. In 2007 he was appointed lecturer at the History Department of the University of Applied Sciences Nijmegen (HAN). In 2011 he started as an external PhD student at the Center for Historical Culture of the Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication. In 2015, he became a delegate at the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). Since 2014, he organizes seminars in cooperation with the State Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau. During his research, Van Berkel has presented several papers at international conferences, such as the BAHS Conference on the Presence of Holocaust in Society (2016 UCL), the International Research Conference on Education about the Holocaust (2016, University of Lucerne), the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (2014, University of London), the International Conference at the International Research Association for History and Social Sciences Education / Association Internationale de Recherche en Didactique de l'Histoire et des Sciences Sociales (2014, Fribourg), Radboud University Nijmegen (2014), NIOD/Anne Frank Foundation Amsterdam (2014) and at RWTH Aachen University conference on Nazi Propaganda in the 21st Century (2013).

His recent publications include:

- *Welk verhaal telt? De oorlogen in Nederlands-Indië / Indonesië 1942-1949 in het geschiedenisonderwijs* (Onderzoeksrapport Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei, 2017).
- 'Polen en de Holocaust. Over een moeizame omgang met het verleden' in *Kleio* (February 2017) 30-34.
- 'Holocaust Representation in Dutch History Textbooks 1960-2010' in *Studi sulla Formazioni* (Anno XVIII, 2-2015) (Firenze 2015).
- 'Mein Kampf in niederländischen Schulbüchern und der öffentlichen Diskussion' in *NS-Propaganda im 21. Jahrhundert. Zwischen Verbot und Öffentlicher Auseinandersetzung*, Christian Kuchler (ed.) (Köln 2014).
- 'Die Schweiz und die Ukraine: Eine doppelte Vergangenheitsbewältigung', *Forschungsbericht 6 DIA* (December 2011).

Propositions belonging to the dissertation

Plotlines of Victimhood The Holocaust in German and Dutch History Textbooks, 1960-2010

By Marc van Berkel

1. In German and Dutch history textbooks, the Western European perspective on the Holocaust continues to dominate by almost exclusively focusing on Auschwitz-Birkenau.
2. Contrary to their German counterparts, Dutch history textbooks published between 1960 and 2010 continue to narrate the *intentionalist* approach to the Holocaust, still considering Hitler and Himmler to be the sole masterminds behind the persecutions and mass murders.
3. Through the consultation of teachers, academics, curriculum experts and other institutional agents, a process of mediation in Germany is set in motion which guarantees consensus in curricula development and quality control in textbook production.
4. In recent German history textbooks, WWII and the Holocaust are narrated from a European perspective, whereas in textbooks from the Netherlands these topics continue to be embedded in a national context, thus avoiding proper facing of problematic aspects of that past.
5. Using the language of the perpetrators in Holocaust narratives in history textbooks without proper context or further explanation can lead to misunderstandings, and, at worst, to unconscious absorption of Nazi ideology.
6. If history textbooks do not offer a platform for open and critical historical exploration, contested views and serious debate, these can rightfully be called 'weapons of mass instruction'.
7. Better history textbooks offer multiple perspectives, consistency with the latest historiographical findings and a more international approach.
8. Historical thinking in education and historical remembrance in public history are sometimes opposed concepts that can neutralize contested historical topics.
9. Spielberg's feature film *Schindler's List* should not be used as a didactic source for the Holocaust in education.
10. The fact that, in January 2017, German politician Björn Höcke (AfD) called the Berlin *Holocaust-Mahnmal* a 'monument of shame', reflects a dramatic change in the status of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in Germany.
11. The presence of Yoko Ono in the recording studios and her relationship with John Lennon cannot be considered as the main reasons for the disintegration of The Beatles in 1970.